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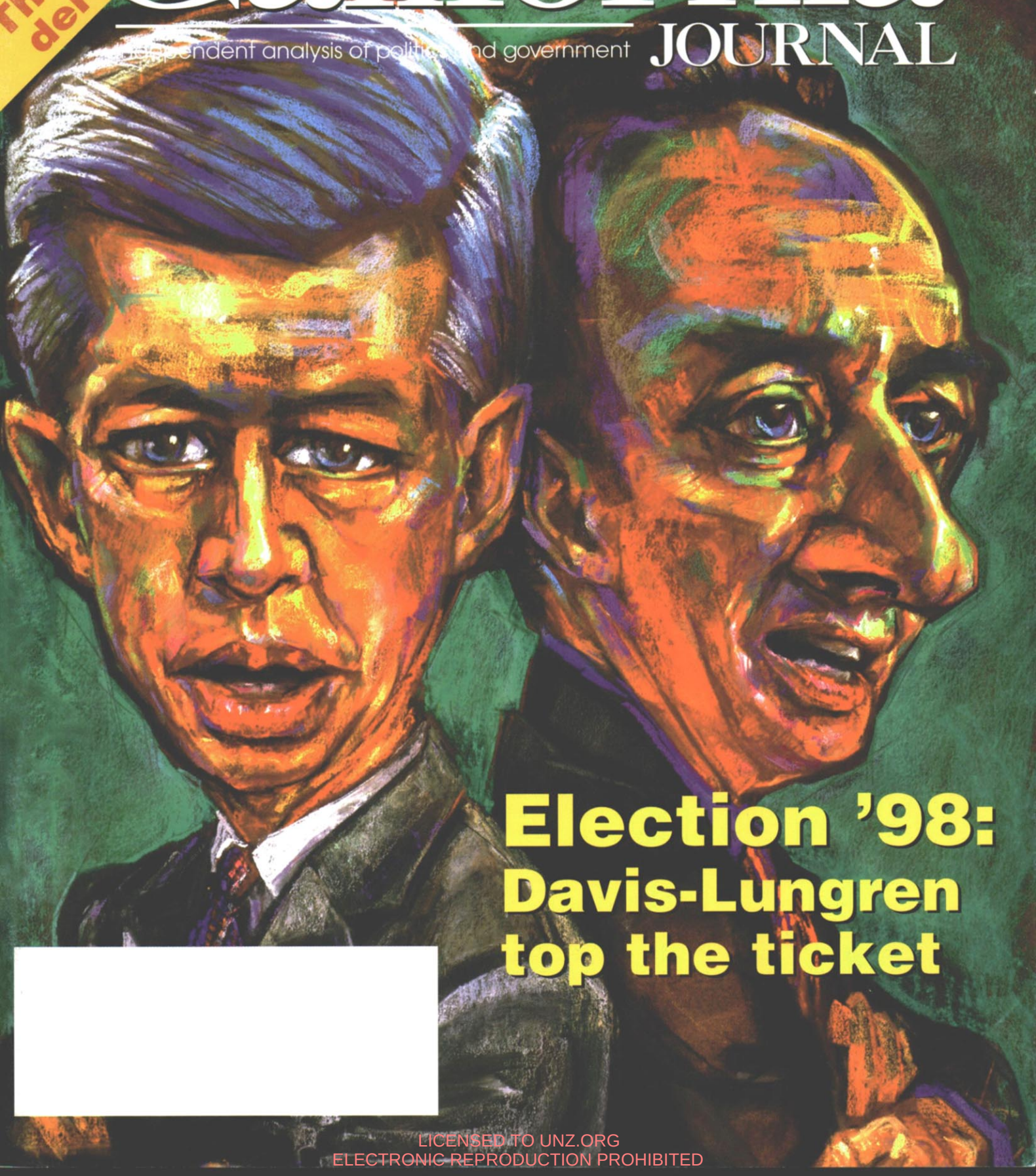
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California

independent analysis of politics and government

JOURNAL



**Election '98:
Davis-Lungren
top the ticket**

— [*A brief history of dental protection*] —

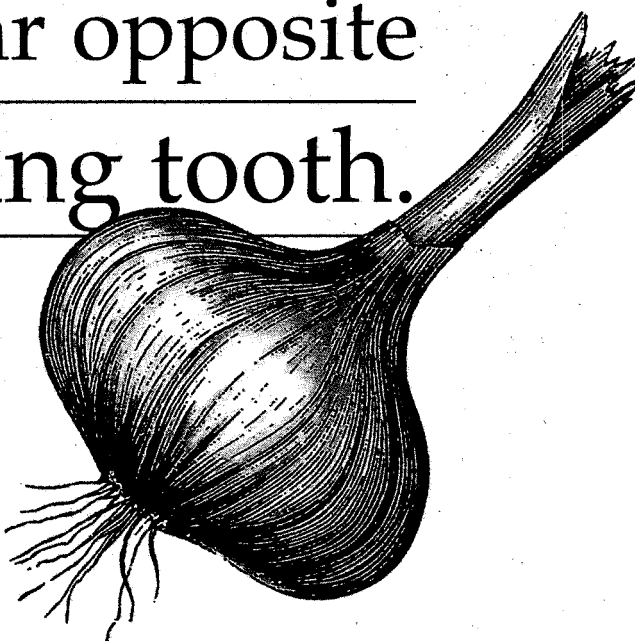
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California JOURNAL

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This issue of *California Journal* is entirely dedicated to an analysis of Election '98, including contests for governor, the U.S. Senate, all other constitutional offices, two new ballot measures added by the Legislature and the confirmation election of California Supreme Court Justices Ron George and Ming Chin. In addition, we provide the *Journal's* highly regarded snapshots of races for every California congressional and legislative district.

8

Election '98

The ripples from Election '98 will stir California and national political waters for years to come, as the governor who takes office in the wake of this election will preside over the next reapportionment of California congressional and legislative districts.

By A.G. Block

11

Governor

This race could be billed as "The Tortoise and the Tortoise" as Republican Attorney General Dan Lungren and Democratic Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis square off in what promises to be the most visible and important election on the 1998 ballot.

By Steve Scott

14

U.S. Senate

Nearly every likely voter already has formed an opinion about one-term incumbent Democrat Barbara Boxer. As a result, she faces some daunting challenges as she seeks to retain her seat against Republican state Treasurer Matt Fong.

By A.G. Block



15

The other statewide races

A look at contests for attorney general, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, treasurer, controller, insurance commissioner, superintendent of public instruction, Board of Equalization and the state Supreme Court.

By the editors of *California Journal*

54

The war over Proposition 9

The effort to pass and defeat Proposition 9 — the initiative designed to overturn California's system to deregulate the energy industry — finds old allies at each other's throats.

By Steve Scott

56

The new props

In the waning hours of the legislative session, lawmakers added two more propositions to the November ballot, including a \$9.2 billion school bond.

By Anthony York

GOVERNOR

Illustration by
Sandra Hoover

FEATURES

Up Front	6
Washington Perspective	58
Rostrum	59
State of the State	60

DISTRICTS

District-by-District analyses	
Congress	22
State Senate	34
Assembly	39

Upfront

umbrage

Spoiled sport: The early lead in the contest for "Sourpuss of the Year" goes to Randy Hoffman, the GOP's candidate for the congressional seat currently held by Representative Brad Sherman (D-Sherman Oaks). In many of his past campaigns, the balding Sherman has played off his nerdy appearance by handing out campaign combs wherever he goes. "You can probably use these more than me," Sherman is known to tell people while handing out combs, which, by most accounts, is a harmless, self-effacing ice breaker. But not to Hoffman. "I don't see what combs have to do with the issues," he huffed at a Labor Day campaign appearance. Hoffman says his campaign favors are substantive: book-marks detailing the candidate's education proposals. Hoffman's rather arch

attitude wasn't lost on Sherman, who rejoined that Hoffman had bigger problems than combs if his entire education agenda could fit on a bookmark. Nobody expected this race to be a breeze for either side. Both parties are lining up big guns to come in and do fund raising. But it seems there's room for at least a little levity. Perhaps, rather than dissing Sherman's combs, Hoffman might consider a disarming gag of his own, assuming he can grow a sense of humor between now and November.

Low overhead: It's probably safe to say there's never been a gubernatorial candidate whose campaign director answers the phone: "Cheesecake Mama!" But that's the case with Green Party candidate Dan Hamburg, who clearly operates according to the less-

is-more mantra. Forget the high-priced campaign consultants and fancy office suites. When reporters seek an interview with Hamburg, they dial up campaign director Robin Collier at her bakery business in Ukiah, where she juggles cheesecake orders with media requests. Collier, who with her husband also home-schools their two children, owns "Cheesecake Mama," which ships home-made delicacies to commercial buyers, such as the Doubletree hotel chain. She's known Hamburg for years and says she's working for free because she believes in his message.

A little punchy: Despite finishing up their end-of-session crunch a few hours earlier than usual this year, lawmakers were still a little woozy the morning after. The Tuesday morning

'What if' scenario:

Conspiracy theories and other things about which inquiring minds wish to know are all the rage these days. So here's a little election year diversion to consider. November 4, 1998. The election is over. The dust has settled. In the Assembly, 40 Democrats, 40 Republicans. Whose nightmare is it? Well, let's start with the leadership of both parties, who will be forced to scramble around like scared monkeys in a fruitless effort to flip one vote over to their side. Then there's the Assembly staff, particularly chief clerk Dotson Wilson. Veterans of the 1995 leadership deadlock engineered by former Assembly Speaker Willie Brown will remember it was Wilson whose parliamentary hotseat was so stressful he actually spent a night in the hospital. But the two people who are really hoping things don't deadlock are, ironically, a couple of sure winners. On the same day he wins the runoff in the race to replace Barbara Lee in the state Senate, Assemblyman Don Perata (D-Oakland) will also win re-election to his Assembly seat. Perata has hinted he might try to stick around the Assembly for as long as his vote is needed. But if he stays too long, he could find himself facing an expulsion motion. That's what happened in 1995 when, in a similar situation, Republican Richard Mountjoy hung around too long and was booted at the behest of the crafty Brown. In the event of a split, if Republicans

make a motion to expel Perata, the precedent established by Brown requires that he (Perata) be disallowed from voting. The result: 40-39, he's out. But Democrats have their own ace in the hole. Republican Mike Briggs, the Fresno councilman running unopposed in the AD 29 race. Briggs has a rather topical skeleton in his closet. Not only did he plead "no contest" in 1986 to misdemeanor charges of having unlawful sex with a minor, but in his 1994 race for city council, he lied about the issue by denying the charge. If the issue of Briggs' fitness to serve were to be raised by Democrats in the Assembly, Republicans would have to explain why it's O.K. for Briggs to have illegal sex with a minor and lie about it, but it's not O.K. for Bill Clinton to have legal sex with an adult and lie about it. So Democrats move to expel Briggs. 40-39, *he's* out. Of course, if this all happens, a lot will depend on who's holding the gavel. And what does 1995 have to say about that? Well, that year, the ruling was that in the absence of a speaker, control of floor sessions defaulted to the most experienced member. Then it was Willie Brown. Next session, it will be Assemblyman Lou Papan (D-Millbrae), who will be entering his 17th year of Assembly service. First runner-up in the seniority contest would be Assemblyman Richard Floyd (D-Hawthorne). Neither is known for his timidity, and with Papan running the show, pretty much anything could happen. Now we acknowledge this is all very dizzying, and admittedly a little out there. But, hey, we can dream, can't we?

California

Independent analysis of politics and government

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quarterbacking of this year's legislative session produced few quotes for the ages, unless you include the customary "greatest session in a decade, in a century, in a month of Sundays" or whatever. Not surprisingly, most of the memorable ones came from Senate President pro Tempore John Burton (D-San Francisco), who still manages to be the class clown despite being the Senate's top leader. Burton led off his post-session news conference with the proclamation that it had been "ginger-peachy, bordering on peachy-keen." Burton also had kind words for Governor Pete Wilson, who, he said, "always dealt straight with me." Ironically, it was during his praise for Wilson that Burton got the biggest rise out of the governor's folks. While praising the governor, Burton took a shot at his sometimes acid-tongued press secretary, Sean Walsh. "I can't wait for Sean Walsh to run for Congress so I can send him money," Burton said sarcastically. The quip did not go unnoticed. When he came out with the GOP leadership to give his take on the session, Wilson began by saying, "As chairman of the Walsh for Congress committee, I gratefully accept Mr. Burton's offer of support." Wilson then winked at his press aide and said, "Sean, you've been holding out on me."

Stupid press tricks: When she retired last month after more than two decades as a state information officer, Corrections Department public information officer Kati Corsaut was thinking of writing a book entitled "Stupid Questions Reporters Ask." Her personal favorite, when she was chief flack for the state Attorney General's Division of Law Enforcement, was a masterpiece of clueless overreaching: "Can you give me the statistics on the amount of illegal drugs imported into this country every year?" Corsaut also has little use for reporters who form strong opinions before gathering facts. One recently asked her, "How do you feel about violating the rights of your parolee?" But Corsaut's fondest memories of media excess came during her stint with the attorney general's office during the administration of John Van de Kamp. When reporters of all stripes scrambled to go on drug raids during the annual harvest-season Campaign Against Marijuana Planting, it was Corsaut's job to show them around. "Geraldo Rivera wanted to include it in a series he was doing [and] he wanted to *choreograph* this law enforcement raid," said Corsaut.

"I had to keep telling him, 'No, we're not going to do it that way.'" Rivera may have been pushy, but at least he wasn't messy, like one newspaper reporter who casually tossed his numerous empty soda cans into the back seat of Corsaut's car while she was driving him around for a story. "On balance, most of the reporters I deal with are interested in what they're writing about and hard-working," she said. "But there are a lot who have a very inadequate understanding about the way our government works. Many times you have to preface any response with your basic 'State and Local Government in Five Easy Lessons'. And there are those who think they know everything, and learn nothing."

The silent treatment: Anyone looking for an indication of how unsettled the Democratic faithful have been about President Bill Clinton and his recent, er, troubles? Well, if you were at the California State Fair last month, you'd have gotten a clue. During the first weekend of the Sacramento fair, the Democratic Party had a booth at one of those commercial centers, right next to the Ginsu knife demonstrations and the guaranteed-not-to-streak eyeglass cleaner. One attendee who found the kiosk saw all manner of buttons and paper touting Al Gore, Gray Davis, Cruz Bustamante ... just about every Democrat who ever ran for office. Well, every one except the man described by *Los Angeles Times* columnist Mike Downey as "the Casanova-in-Chief." Apparently there weren't even any of those little posed photos with local officials grinning next to the prez. And all this was *before* Special Prosecutor Kenneth Starr released his "Cigar Chronicles." It sort of reminds one of the good old days of the Soviet Union, when Politburo members who fell out of favor would "die in a plane crash," after which all evidence of their existence would be erased from the history books. 🏠

"I wouldn't have his job
for all the tea in China."

Senator John Burton,
about Assembly Speaker
Antonio Villaraigosa

Election '98

In the most critical election of the decade, Democrats have their best chance to capture the governor's office since 1982, and Republicans have an outside chance to take back the Legislature. With reapportionment looming in 2001, the impact of Election '98 will be felt far into the next decade.

Election '98 is the pebble in the pond of California politics. The ripples it creates likely will stir the state's — and perhaps the nation's — political waters well into the 21st Century, for Election '98 will determine the California governor who will be on hand to sign or veto the reapportionment that follows the 2000 national census. Although it will not elect the Legislature that will preside over the redrawing of legislative and congressional districts, it will set the stage for the election that does.

Not that the stakes aren't high for the current Legislature. Democrats enjoy slim majorities in both houses, and control could switch if 1998 follows an historical pattern: Elections held in non-presidential years midway through the second term of a presidency tend to favor the party out of power. On the natural, then, 1998 could be a good year for Republicans. In addition, Democrats must contend with fallout from the Clinton scandal, centered on the president's admitted affair with a White House intern and detailed for the nation in an impeachment report issued by a special prosecutor. With a lot going for it, the GOP could wrest control of the Senate and Assembly (see charts, page 10).

On the national scene, Republicans hold the Congress by a relatively slender majority, so both parties will scramble for every available seat. California's 52-member House delegation provides fertile ground for both sides (see chart, page 10) and will include some fierce and expensive congressional battles. It also will feature a race for U.S. Senate, spotlighting one of the nation's most vulnerable Democrats — incumbent Barbara Boxer (see page 14).

More than in past years, the November election was shaped by its primary (see *CJ*, May and July 1998). First off, the June election was California's grand experiment with a blanket primary, where voters dabbled in races regardless of party affiliation and where, for the first time in modern memory, independents waded into intra-party contests. The result, especially on the GOP side, was a relatively moderate cadre of legislative and congressional candidates who may be more electable than the conservatives they defeated. The blanket primary also exposed the strengths and weaknesses of various incumbents, for if lessons gleaned from other states with similar primary systems are valid, incumbents who drew more than 50 percent of the overall vote in a blanket primary will win re-election while those who polled less than 50 percent are in trouble.

A significant factor in the primary, which could continue in the general election, was the re-emergence of organized labor as a political force. Labor — in all its various incarnations —





What's at Stake

Here is a quick glance at the spoils at stake in the 1998 election for Congress and the state Legislature.

CONGRESS

- ◆ All 52 districts are up for election
- ◆ 5 of the districts are open, with no incumbent on the ballot
- ◆ The current House delegation has 29 Democrats, 23 Republicans
- ◆ Democrats are more at risk than Republicans. Democrats likely will pick up CD 1, but they could lose CDs 3, 10, 24, 36, 42 and 46.
- ◆ Of the 52 districts:
 - 22 are SAFE DEMOCRATIC
 - 2 LEAN DEMOCRATIC
 - 5 are TOSS UP, and all 5 are now held by Democrats
 - 3 LEAN REPUBLICAN
 - 20 are SAFE REPUBLICAN
 - 10 are considered HOT

SENATE

- ◆ Half the house — 20 even-numbered districts, plus SD 9 — is up for election
- ◆ 12 of the districts are open, with no incumbent on the ballot
- ◆ The current Senate has 22 Democrats, 16 Republicans, 1 independent and 1 vacancy
- ◆ Democrats are more at risk than Republicans. Democrats likely will pick up SD 8, but they could lose SDs 2, 6 and 32.
- ◆ Of the 21 districts on the 1998 ballot:
 - 14 are held by Democrats, 6 by Republicans and 1 by an independent
 - 11 are SAFE DEMOCRATIC
 - 1 LEANS DEMOCRATIC
 - 3 are TOSS UP, and all are now held by Democrats
 - 1 LEANS REPUBLICAN
 - 5 are SAFE REPUBLICAN
 - 5 are considered HOT

ASSEMBLY

- ◆ All 80 districts are up for election
- ◆ 25 of the districts are open, with no incumbent on the ballot
- ◆ The current Assembly has 43 Democrats, 37 Republicans
- ◆ Both parties are at equal risk. Democrats could pick up ADs 30, 35, 54 and 69. Republicans could pick up ADs 31, 44, 56 and 78.
- ◆ Of the districts on the 1998 ballot:
 - 30 are SAFE DEMOCRATIC
 - 9 LEAN DEMOCRATIC
 - 8 are TOSS UP, with 4 now held by Democrats and 4 held by Republicans
 - 6 LEAN REPUBLICAN
 - 27 are SAFE REPUBLICAN
 - 18 are HOT

coalesced to help defeat Proposition 226, the initiative sponsored by Governor Pete Wilson that would have required unions to secure signed agreements from each of their members before union dues could be spent on political campaigns. If the momentum built by labor for the primary surges through the fall, it could greatly help Democrats, who usually benefit from union largesse.

The November election, of course, will produce its own dynamic. In the governor's race, Democratic Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis takes on Republican Attorney General Dan Lungren, and the two already have embarked on an historic series of debates around the state (see story, page 11). It is expected to be very close at the wire, so some eyes are turned to Green Party nominee Dan Hamburg — a former Democratic congressman from the North Coast — who could prove a spoiler.

The fall campaign also will determine whether voters still favor "experienced" candidates, as they did in the primary. It will showcase once again the growing power of Latino voters, who proved pivotal in several 1996 elections. And it will indicate whether Republicans have made any progress in recapturing Latino votes, which migrated to Democrats in the wake of Pete Wilson's 1994 gubernatorial effort and the campaign for Proposition 187. Early polls revealed that Lungren had gained some traction among Hispanics, which was good news for Republicans.

For all candidates, but especially for Democrats, the big unknown is the Clinton factor: How will the president's troubles in the wake of his admitted liaisons with former intern Monica Lewinsky affect the election? Ever since mid-August, when the president admitted the affair after nearly seven months of public denial, Democrats across the country have fretted about *l' affaire Lewinsky's* ultimate impact on Democratic turnout. Some observers have compared Democratic prospects with those facing Republicans in 1974, shortly after Richard Nixon resigned the presidency in the wake of Watergate and after his successor — Gerald Ford — had pardoned Nixon. That election, too, took place midway through a president's second term and was deeply affected by scandals in Washington. Large numbers of Republicans — embarrassed, discouraged and disgusted — stayed away from the polls, and the falloff took down a small regiment of GOP officeholders — many of whom were not expected to lose.

A bipartisan national poll, taken just before the special prosecutor's report went to Congress in early September, predicted that as many as 9 percent of Democratic voters, demoralized over the scandal, could sit out the 1998 elections. A 9 percent falloff in California would saddle Democratic hopefuls up and down the ticket with an enormous handicap, and could tip the scales in one close election after another. As the June primary demonstrated, outside factors often determine the outcome of elections. If one of those is Bill Clinton, California Democrats could be in for a painful November.

What follows is *California Journal's* analysis of every contest for statewide office, plus district-by-district analyses of every congressional, legislative and Board of Equalization race. Also included is a view of the confirmation election of Supreme Court Chief Justice Ron George, and an update on two additional propositions added to the ballot by the Legislature. 🏛️

— A.G. Block

Governor

Democrat: Gray Davis of Los Angeles. Republican: Dan Lungren of Sacramento. American Independent: Nathan Johnson of San Diego. Green: Dan Hamburg of Ukiah. Libertarian: Steve Kubby of Garden Grove. Natural Law: Harold Bloomfield of Fairfield. Peace and Freedom: Gloria La Riva of San Francisco.

Slow and steady wins the race.

For the better part of two decades, the simple maxim from Aesop's "The Tortoise and the Hare" has provided the cornerstone for a remarkable string of gubernatorial victories for the Republican Party in California. The record since 1982 speaks for itself: Four elections, four wins — the first two with George Deukmejian and two with Pete Wilson. In each case, save that of Deukmejian's 1986 re-election, the pattern has been more or less the same. Democrats anoint the latest candidate to catch the fancy of Eastern political media, and polls show that candidate leading after the primary. But by Election Day, the Democrats' sprinter has run out of gas and can only watch as the GOP's marathon runner coasts ahead of them across the line.

When the 1998 election season started, yet another repeat seemed in the works. The GOP had cleared the field for its governor-in-waiting, Attorney General Dan Lungren, while two wealthy Democratic newcomers — Northwest Airlines executive Al Checchi and moderate congresswoman Jane Harman — waged war in the primary. But there was also a distance runner in the Democratic field. Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis. And as summer turns to fall, it is Davis, not Checchi or Harman, who squares off against Lungren for one of the nation's top political prizes in 1998.

In nominating two seasoned career politicians, primary voters have set the stage for the sort of face-off that hasn't been seen in California in decades — the tortoise against the tortoise. Lungren began his public career in the 1970s, when he was elected to Congress from Deukmejian's home district. Davis began planting his gubernatorial seeds as chief of staff for former Governor Jerry Brown, and won his first election, to the state Assembly, in 1982. Each has worked his way up the ladder, adding experience in statewide office to his legislative resume. Both burn with ambition to be governor.

But despite their similar career tracks, Dan Lungren and Gray Davis are two very different individuals. Different not only in their ideologies and world views, but in their personalities and approaches to politics. Different enough to make the choice between these two evenly matched career pals one of the clearest in recent memory.

Overtly religious, Lungren wears his heart — and his

partisan colors — on his sleeve. His early career in Congress was marked by a missionary conservatism that presaged the "Republican Revolution" of 1994, as he co-authored the abortion-banning Human Life Amendment and voted against reparations for Japanese-Americans victimized by World War II internments. As time went on, Lungren proved he had a pragmatic streak by taking the Republican lead in pushing through the landmark immigration amnesty and reform law. But the partisan fires were never far away.

In 1988, he suffered a bitter blow when his nomination to fill the unexpired term of the late state Treasurer Jesse Unruh was rejected by the state Senate. The rejection came after an ugly confrontation with then-President pro Tempore David Roberti (D-Los Angeles) and despite pleas on his behalf from, among others, liberal Representative Barney Frank (D-Massachusetts). Lungren got his revenge two years later when he ever-so-narrowly defeated San Francisco City



Davis



Lungren

Attorney Arlo Smith in the race for attorney general. Since then, Lungren has become a favorite of victims-rights groups for his pursuit of capital cases, including the execution of double murderer Robert Alton Harris. Lungren has also earned modest praise from some environmental groups for his use of the state's anti-toxics law to crack down on lead content in products. But critics also fault his office for settling environmental and consumer cases too quickly, his loose interpretation of the state's assault-weapon ban, and his belated entry into the national lawsuits seeking recompense from the tobacco industry for public health care costs.

If Lungren is the gut-level street fighter, Davis is the epitome of practiced political perfection. With a drive for self-promotion exceeded only by his relentlessness as a fund raiser, Davis has crafted his public persona with the precision of a watchmaker. His interest in the state's top job grew out of six years as Brown's top staffer. Although he was considered to be the "house conservative" because of his buttoned-down demeanor and support for the death penalty, Davis implemented his boss' agenda, earning praise for keeping the state running while Brown was running ... and running ... and running for president.

Davis left the Brown administration after six years, winning a seat in the state Assembly. During that time, Davis drew attention to himself as a driving force behind getting the pictures of missing children onto milk cartons. He also built a voting record largely supportive of public safety issues and, most importantly, the death penalty. In 1986, he was elected state controller, despite GOP attempts to link him to his

unpopular former boss.

As controller, Davis found a multitude of ways to make headlines, reuniting people with their unclaimed assets and withholding the pay of politicians when the budget was late. After easily winning election as lieutenant governor in 1994, Davis made the most of frequent stints as acting governor, getting in trouble only once, when a state reward he authorized in the wake of the slaying of comedian Bill Cosby's son Ennis was rescinded by Wilson upon his return to the state. Perhaps Davis' biggest political gaffe came during his ill-conceived U.S. Senate bid in 1992. In a hit branded as the dirtiest of the race, a Davis commercial compared rival Dianne Feinstein to infamous hotel dragon-lady and tax cheat Leona Helmsley. Only this year, after Davis won the gubernatorial primary, did he and Feinstein bury the hatchet.

The primary campaign offered glimpses of each candidate's distinguishing characteristics. Davis' consummate political skills helped him achieve a stunning come-from-behind victory over the free-spending Checchi and Harman in the Democratic primary. Lungren's out-front Catholicism popped into view during his formal campaign announcement when, to the surprise even of his campaign aides, Lungren called for a closer connection between public and religious lives. (see *CJ*, July, 1998).

As they engage in the general election campaign, the differences and similarities between the two candidates

come into sharper focus. With their long histories as statewide candidates, Davis and Lungren were able to dispense with the usual tiresome posturing over debates and agree on five head-to-head contests in five different cities. In the first two of those debates, each candidate showed he had a handle on an array of statewide issues, talking substantively on such weighty matters as water rights, urban sprawl and education. The debates also demonstrated that neither candidate is above the occasional below-the-belt hit. In the first matchup in San Diego, regarded as a win for Lungren, the attorney general contorted procedural votes taken by Davis in the Legislature as "evidence" he was a waffler on the death penalty. Most newspaper analyses concluded the charge was, at best, a stretch. In the second debate in Fresno, seen as having gone to Davis, the Democrat offhandedly suggested that Lungren's office had been slow to process capital cases. The charge drew a stinging rebuke from the civil service prosecutors in the attorney general's office.

The debates also have been a venue through which the candidates have sought to define themselves and their opponent. Each tries to present himself as the common-sense alternative to a dangerous extremist. Lungren has largely relied on the "guilt by association" approach, linking Davis to the pariahs of his past — Jerry Brown and former state Supreme Court Chief Justice Rose Bird. Lungren also labored long and hard to make the case that Davis wasn't sufficiently devoted to the death penalty, a charge that has

Does being green mean being a spoiler?

It's not easy being Green. Having just exhorted a largely indifferent crowd of young UC Berkeley students to challenge the status quo, Dan Hamburg, the Green Party candidate for governor, was munching a falafel sandwich when an earnest young student approached.

What should he do on Election Day, he asked the candidate, when voting for a Green Party candidate such as Hamburg could, in essence, mean taking votes from a Democrat and tossing them to a Republican.

"I don't want to be just throwing my vote away," the student told Hamburg.

That's the quandary facing voters who are contemplating casting ballots for third-party candidates. Their predicament is that alternative political parties, such as the Greens, typically siphon votes away from Democratic candidates. And the reverse can be true for Libertarians, who may steal from Republican candidates, thereby benefiting a Democratic rival. In other words, by voting their conscience, these voters risk electing their worst nightmare.

That dilemma has earned alternative parties and their

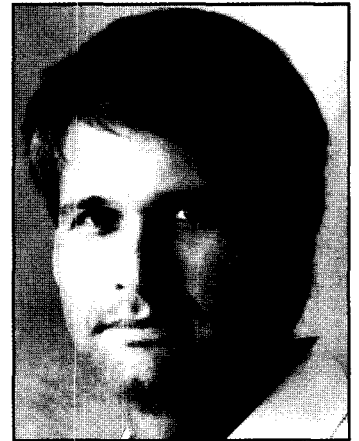
supporters a nickname: The Spoilers. In several recent New Mexico congressional elections,

Green Party candidates took so many votes — as high as 17 percent in one race — that they killed any chance of a Democrat taking a majority. Instead, two longtime Democratic districts turned over to Republican hands in the Albuquerque and Santa Fe regions.

For Hamburg, the answer to the dilemma is simple: Vote for what you believe. "You should walk out of the voting booth feeling proud, not that you held your nose pulling the lever to vote for someone you really didn't want," he advises.

In Hamburg's case, the issue is both a catalyst and a curse. Because the "spoiler" label has been bandied about so much in the wake of the New Mexico elections, it has given his candidacy a higher profile than it might otherwise have earned. But it has also dampened the willingness of voters to follow their hearts rather than their heads.

Solving this voting-booth conundrum was a cornerstone of debate during a two-day conference in San Francisco last



Hamburg

largely landed with a thud. Davis has gotten more mileage out of his criticism of Lungren, focusing on Lungren's opposition to abortion rights and his conservative congressional voting record.

As summer dissolved into fall, the two candidates have moved their campaign onto television. Thanks to his fund-raising edge, Davis was on the air first with spots touting his service in Vietnam and his support for abortion rights and capital punishment. Subsequent spots have highlighted Davis' education proposals, showing him in various educational settings, with his primary tag line — "Experience money can't buy" — reworked to read "Experience that will move us forward." Lungren, meanwhile, sought to get some traction from the troubles surrounding President Bill Clinton by raising the issue of character. A spot that began airing as the Clinton plot thickened talked about the value of honesty "from the White House to the school house." The tag line — "Character is doing what's right when nobody's looking" — is a direct swipe at Davis' reputation for speaking from polls, rather than from the heart.

Coming out of the primary, momentum was clearly with Davis. Post-primary public polling showed Davis to have about a five-to-eight point lead over Lungren. By mid-August, the Field Poll had Davis ahead by 12 points. By way of comparison, the August 1990 Field Poll had Pete Wilson leading Diane Feinstein by three points. Davis forces say the poll confirms their own numbers. Lungren's team says

the real bulge is closer to six points. Perhaps more important, Davis got a huge fund-raising surge in the weeks following the primary, when he raised an estimated \$3 million. His June 30 campaign report showed him with \$4.5 million in the bank — \$1 million more than Lungren.

The apparent lag in Lungren's poll numbers and fund raising has many GOP strategists expressing alarm, albeit *sotto voce*. Some think Lungren has spent too much energy trying to paint Davis as a "Jerry Brown liberal," saying Brown is ancient history and Davis has been skillful at presenting himself as pro-law enforcement. While not directly acknowledging any problems in the campaign, Lungren did sign up former Wilson spinmeister Dan Schnur to shore up the press operation, and Lungren's written speeches are expected to develop more of an edge as time goes on. Davis forces say Lungren's new hook onto the "character" issue is a sign of desperation but insist they are ready to meet fire with fire. Davis' past campaign aggressiveness suggests this is no idle threat.

Republican jitters notwithstanding, all signs point to a neck-and-neck battle to the finish, if for no other reason than it was ever thus. The last three open-seat gubernatorial campaigns — 1974, 1982 and 1990 — all finished with victory margins of three percent or less, and of the three winners, only Jerry Brown secured more than 50 percent of the vote. Then there is the question of turnout. The historic dropoff in participation between presidential and non-

month, when a host of election reform advocates gathered to discuss ways to overhaul the nation's 200-year-old system of voting. Many view it as out-of-date and outmoded.

"It's become a closed club," said Steven Hill, West Coast director of the Center for Voting and Democracy. "Between Democrats and Republicans, people don't see a lot of difference these days — but third-party candidates are shut out of the debates. So who's losing here are the voters, who aren't getting a chance to hear new voices."

Hamburg is willing to let his candidacy be a vehicle to drive both heightened awareness of the Green Party and a need for electoral reform. He and other Greens hope to see a measure on the 2000 ballot that would create "instant runoff voting," which operates like a series of runoffs. Voters mark their ballot with several preferences, ranking them in order of first, second, third choices. Candidates receiving the fewest first-place votes are eliminated in the first round of computerized counting; the voter's second choice then kicks in and that vote is added to the candidate's tally. The process continues until one candidate wins a majority.

But electoral reform was not much on the minds of the sparse campus crowd that stopped to hear Hamburg's activist save-the-Earth pitch. It might have played better 30 years ago when environmental concerns and looming draft notices galvanized students into political activism. This is the Berkeley of the '90s and whether it was the heat, the lure of lunchtime food carts lining Telegraph Avenue or the GAP outlet across the street, the turnout of students for Hamburg's noontime speech numbered no more than 100.

The pony tailed Hamburg, resembling an aging hippie more than the former U.S. Congressman he is, travels lightly, carrying his own leather bookbag and a single typed list of his day's appointments. There is no entourage or retinue of press handlers, no fancy bunting or banner, and no glossy

campaign literature to hand out. His UC Berkeley appearance was marked only by a small, hand-lettered sign tacked onto an easel.

It was simple and pure Green. Shouting from the same steps from which Mario Savio rallied student activists decades ago, Hamburg talked about what he viewed as the travesty of the Legislature's recent purchase of the Headwaters Forest from "corporate criminal" timber mogul Charles Hurwitz, the need to abolish the death penalty, the failings of mainstream party candidates, the lack of a living wage for many in California's lap of luxury, Silicon Valley. "Twenty-eight percent of children in this trillion-dollar economy are living with the brutality of poverty. What does that do to your psyche?" he demanded of the crowd.

For Hamburg, a one-termer who bailed out of the Democratic Party not long after losing his congressional seat in 1996, there truly is little difference between the two mainstream parties. "We've got one party: the pro-life, pro-corporation party."

Shut out from debates (he says his requests to participate via registered letters to both the Lungren and Davis camps have gone unanswered), relying on modest donations (the party is requesting \$2 per Green) and priced out of TV, Greens and other third parties find themselves largely outside the political loop.

"It's Democrats versus Republicans, and no one else can play," says Hamburg. "If you listen only to Davis and Lungren, the only environmental issue in California is oil drilling off the coast. Why don't they talk about the epidemic of asthma in children in this country? Why don't we talk about the fact that U.S. males have half the sperm counts of their grandfathers? Those are environmental issues." 

—Claudia Buck

presidential years has tended to favor Republicans. Many political pros believe Clinton's problems will further depress Democratic turnout, while simultaneously energizing the Republican base. The lack of an emotional hot-ticket ballot proposition could also serve to keep turnout low.

No matter how depressed the turnout, however, most

analysts agree the race won't be won or lost as a result of the swiftly-moving events in Washington D.C. It will be won in California by one of two experienced professional politicians, each of whom understands the value of taking things slow and steady. 🏠

— Steve Scott

U.S. Senate

Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Boxer of Greenbrae. Republican: Matt Fong of Los Angeles. American Independent: H. Joseph Perrin of Sacramento. Libertarian: Ted Brown of San Gabriel. Natural Law: Brian Rees of Pacific Palisades. Peace and Freedom: Ophie Beltran of Toluca Lake. Reform: Timothy Erich of Oakdale.

For Republicans, Barbara Boxer is as inviting a target as any on the national map: a one-term United States senator about whom nearly every likely voter has an opinion and whom they dislike as much as they favor; an in-your-face liberal representing a state whose electorate is not; a former Marin County congresswoman whose 1992 election was made possible by a fortuitous combination of running mates and circumstances now absent in 1998. Thus, at a time when every House and Senate seat in the nation is critical to both Republicans and Democrats as they scramble for control of the Congress, the thought of taking on Barbara Boxer leaves the GOP giddy.

The fracas between Boxer and GOP state Treasurer Matt Fong offers voters a choice between two candidates with very different ideas about the role of government. The incumbent promotes a strong federal presence in areas such as education, environmental protection, healthcare and business regulation. She backs gun control and a woman's right to choose, opposes school vouchers and would reduce the defense budget to augment spending for social programs. Fong, on the other hand, is a fiscal conservative who advocates "devolution" — removing regulation and social programs from the federal government and vesting them in the states. After much pawing the ground, the overly cautious challenger declared himself to be pro-life, opposes most forms of gun control, supports school vouchers and would replace the current federal income tax with a flat tax. An Air Force Academy graduate, Fong supports increased military budgets and would spend the additional cash to help fight terrorism.

At the outset, the problem for both sides is generating any interest in the race. In the best of years, a battle for the U.S. Senate in California barely registers as a first-tier contest. And in 1998, because of looming reapportionment, the focus

is on the race for governor (see page 11). In addition, recent Senate elections have been more bizarre than profound. The 1994 mud bath between Democratic incumbent Dianne Feinstein and Republican Michael Huffington didn't come

within an area code of anything resembling an issue — unless "liar, liar, pants on fire" fits the definition. The Boxer-Bruce Herschensohn and Feinstein-John Seymour flings of 1992 didn't exactly measure up to Lincoln-Douglas, either. Even in the June primary, the "issues" that emerged in the GOP contest between Fong and businessman Darrell Issa were "experience" and "rich guys."

The June primary, however, demonstrated that the electorate as a whole is relatively

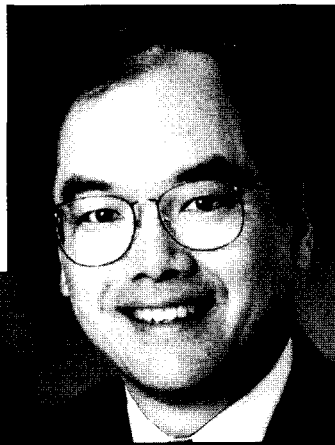
satisfied with incumbents. As a result, Fong's challenge is to underscore his contention that incumbency is wasted on Boxer because she is both ineffective and out of step with mainstream California. Boxer's challenge is to fend off that notion. But because Boxer is the incumbent, the race likely will turn on perceptions of her and not Fong. In that vein, it compares with two past Senate campaigns: 1982, between Republican Pete Wilson, then mayor of San Diego, and then-Governor Jerry Brown; and 1976, between one-term Democrat John Tunney and college president S.I. Hayakawa. In both instances, Republicans won by making the election a referendum on the Democratic candidate.

Polls are only brief snapshots anchored to a specific moment, but they provide a glimpse of the obstacles facing each camp. And the first set of numbers exposed higher hurdles for Boxer than for Fong. A Field Poll, released just before Labor Day, indicated a dead heat, with each candidate drawing 45 percent among likely voters. That marked a slight erosion for Boxer, who led Fong 47 percent to 43 percent in May. Boxer's standing also contrasted sharply with polls taken during her first run for the Senate back in 1992 when she led Herschensohn by 22 points in mid-September. Shortly thereafter, she went into freefall, winning the '92 contest by a mere 5 points.

More troublesome was Boxer's relative weakness in the one region where she is especially well known — her home



Boxer



Fong

base in the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area. Although she polled 58 percent in the Bay Area, her share of likely voters is nine points below her own performance in 1992 and not enough to offset the pasting she can expect in the Central Valley and parts of Southern California. In addition, primary results confirmed Fong's ability to eat into that base, especially among Asians. Numbers from the southland aren't confidence-builders, either. Although her support registered 53 percent in Los Angeles County — mirroring 1992 — she only managed 34 percent in the rest of the southland counties — a nine-point dip from 1992, when she captured nearly 43 percent of that vote.

"Image" — whether a candidate is viewed favorably or unfavorably — also is worrisome for the incumbent. The vast majority of likely voters already have formed an opinion of Boxer, and nearly as many dislike as like her (49 percent favorable, 43 percent unfavorable and only 8 percent with no opinion). Thus, there is little room for improvement. Voters already know what they think of Boxer.

Fong, on the other hand, is less known, with nearly a third of those asked yet to decide about him. Unlike the fiery Boxer, the challenger comes off like oatmeal — without the toppings. He is a cautious, plodding campaigner, and his television commercials during the primary were utilitarian at best. So while his campaign style won't bring on a stampede to his cause, the poll revealed that the more people get to know Fong, the more they like him. In May, nearly half of those polled had no opinion of Fong, and his "favorable-unfavorable" ratio was 40-11. By August, his name recognition had jumped from 51 percent to 68 percent. More important, the ratio had improved to 54-14.

Boxer's handlers, however, insist that early polls are misleading since her campaign decided not to spend on television during an uncontested primary. Boxer's numbers, they told the *Los Angeles Times*, will improve once she begins to compete on television.

Of course, the stretch from late August to early November is a long one, and Boxer is sitting on an election kitty estimated to be nearly \$4 million. Fong, on the other hand, was financially exhausted after his primary tussle with Issa, although given the critical nature of the race, he can expect as much help as he needs from Republicans and GOP allies across the country. He also has had great success tapping resources in the Asian community, aided by the efforts of his mother — for her Democratic Secretary of State March Fong Eu. An icon in both Democratic and Asian circles, Eu is campaigning for her son for the first time. Estimates are that both sides will spend upwards of \$10 million before voters punch their tickets.

When it comes to defining the opponent, both campaigns will try to glue the word "extreme" to their opponent's forehead. Fong early on focused on the environment, portraying Boxer as willing to sacrifice jobs in order to impose unreasonable environmental protections. Boxer has tried to lump Fong with a cadre of Republican "extremists" on issues such as gun control, touting her own efforts to rein in the manufacture and sale of cheap handguns — Saturday Night Specials — and to strengthen the ban on assault weapons.

And then, there is the Clinton factor. Like Democrats nationwide, Boxer must contend with fallout from the president's troubles with special prosecutor Kenneth Starr. Democrats, who already must face the prospect of lower

voter turnout in an off-year election, are concerned that Clinton's difficulties will further depress Democratic turnout, and Boxer's situation is more acute because she is part of the president's extended family; her daughter is married to Hillary Rodham Clinton's brother. Even in the best of circumstances, Boxer must face the prospect of a very close election. If turnout is depressed below what is normal, she surely will lose unless Fong makes some enormous gaffe during the campaign. And cautious Matt Fong may not generate much fire, but he is not prone to mistakes. 

— A.G. Block

Lieutenant Governor



Democrat: Cruz Bustamante of Fresno. Republican: Tim Leslie of Tahoe City. American Independent: George McCoy of Anza. Green: Sara Amir of West Hollywood. Libertarian: Thomas M. Tryon of Angels Camp. Peace and Freedom: Jaime Luis Gomez. Reform: James J. Mangia of West Hollywood.

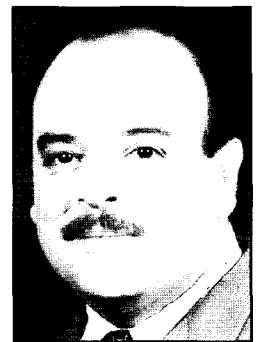
You could call this the race between Two Nice Guys *Sans* Tons of Cash. Rivals state Senator Tim Leslie, a Republican, and Democratic Assemblyman Cruz Bustamante could well earn affability awards from their colleagues in the Legislature. Unfortunately, that doesn't translate into affordability when it comes to running a statewide campaign.

With recent polls showing most voters still unaware of — or worse yet, indifferent to — their campaigns, Bustamante and Leslie need to get their faces and messages out before voters in a big way. The race could fall to the one who gets the most TV time before November 3.

But even Bustamante, who walked away earlier this year from a 15-month stint as Assembly speaker with a hefty \$1.5 million campaign war chest, has found it tough attracting Democratic dollars. Donors pumped such colossal amounts of cash into the June primary that many are simply refueling their tanks, forcing candidates like Bustamante to mine deeper into smaller pockets for contributions.

"The big problem for down-ticket offices is not having the resources to go out and get their message to voters," said GOP political consultant Ray McNally. "You need \$1 million a week just in the Los Angeles TV market, so it's frustrating for these politicians. They're like muzzled, political mutes."

Those mutes may well become mules, devoting long hours and legwork around the state to connect with voters. Both candidates say they hope to run TV spots, but neither is certain of enough money in the bank. Instead, their campaigns may well focus on plenty of "walkin', talkin' and



Bustamante



Leslie

knockin'” on doors, a strategy that may play well to both candidates’ strengths as congenial but dogged public servants.

As a Latino Democrat, Bustamante stands the most to gain — and lose — in the current political landscape. In a state rich with newly registered and mobilized Latino voters, being at the right place at the right time could propel Bustamante onto the pages of history as California’s first elected Latino statewide officeholder.

Leslie, on the other hand, may reap unexpected benefits from the Clinton sex scandal, which has energized a grassroots network of conservative friends, acquaintances and boosters. Some of these same folks came to know Leslie and his wife over the years through religious retreats and helped propel him ahead of the GOP primary pack last June. They include the woman who approached him recently and announced that — unreimbursed and on her own — she’d mailed 4,000 letters to friends urging them to vote for Leslie. That’s the kind of support money can’t buy.

Although two nice guys aren’t expected to start slinging mud, they may fire a few spitballs. Leslie has been the most aggressive, accusing Bustamante of having “the worst attendance record of all University of California regents” as Assembly speaker in 1997. By contrast, says Leslie, “I’m going to show up for work.”

The Tahoe City Republican also points to punditry tagging Bustamante’s speakership style as “weak and timid,” particularly when compared to the flamboyant but iron-fisted reign of Willie Brown. “It’s important because the lieutenant governor has to be ready to step up and be governor,” said Leslie, “and his record in the Assembly was not all that flattering.”

But Bustamante scoffs at the idea of comparing him to the incomparable Brown. “Do I want to be known for wearing ermine coats, driving fancy sports cars and having a beautiful woman on my arm? No. I’m not like Willie Brown. I’m a moderate from the Central Valley.”

By dodging partisan games-playing, Bustamante said, he helped achieve a number of legislative goals during his speakership, including welfare reform, reducing elementary school classroom size, cutting college tuition and enacting the Healthy Families low-income health insurance plan.

As for his spotty voting and attendance record on the UC board — one of many roles the speaker is automatically cast into, the Fresno resident said he was too often consumed by running the Assembly to attend most regent meetings. However, he said, he was always represented by staff members who “made my presence felt.”

Both candidates boast of environmental accomplishments, and both rank education and California trade expansion as priorities for the lieutenant governor’s job. Leslie portrays himself as the champion of small business. He also wants to end remedial instruction at state universities. Bustamante wants to see access to California’s colleges open up through more generous financial aid packages, faculty expansion and construction of more UC college campuses.

The two share the ballot with five other lieutenant governor candidates, including Libertarian Thomas Tryon, a Calaveras County supervisor, and Green Party candidate Sara Amir, an Iranian-born state toxics scientist with the political distinction of being the only statewide office candidate to run radio spots in her native Farsi language. 🏠

—Claudia Buck

Attorney General



Democrat: Bill Lockyer of Hayward. Republican: David Stirling of Sacramento. American Independent: Diane Templin of Escondido. Libertarian: Joseph Farina of Sacramento. Peace and Freedom: Robert Evans of Oakland.



Lockyer



Stirling

Although the attorney general’s post is generally viewed as California’s second-most powerful constitutional office, pre-season polls show that few voters plug into this race until time comes for the campaign finale. Still, insiders watch this office closely, since — as Dan Lungren, John Van de Kamp and George Deukemejian have demonstrated — the AG’s office is often the last stop before a gubernatorial bid. Inevitably, the winner of this race will be viewed as potential gubernatorial material.

Fax machines from both camps have bombarded the Capitol press corps since June. Until now, both M. David Stirling, chief deputy to Attorney General Dan Lungren, and state Senator Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward) have been busy playing the endorsement game, vying for nods from law enforcement groups and district attorneys across the state.

Throughout the summer, the Lockyer camp attached itself to Gray Davis’ hip in a mutually beneficial, buddy-system style of campaigning. Lockyer’s message that the AG’s office under Lungren-Stirling has been mismanaged serves Davis well, too. Likewise, Davis’ similar attacks against Lungren give Lockyer a boost.

As president pro tempore of the state Senate, Lockyer was for some time regarded as the most powerful Democrat in Sacramento — touted as a master dealmaker and negotiator. Lockyer points to his legislative experience as proof he is able to be a strong advocate for the Department of Justice inside the Capitol if he is elected. He also vows that, as the state’s top lawyer, he will be “the people’s lawyer.”

But that doesn’t mean Lockyer will default on tough-on-crime campaigning, handing the issue to Stirling. He will run on his legislative record, including his time as chairman of the Senate’s Judiciary Committee, and his authorship of laws calling for increased penalties for domestic violence, expediting death penalty appeals and improving criminal background checks.

Lockyer vows to reinvigorate the Justice Department in its role as an advocate for consumer protection and civil rights. Critics of the Lungren/Stirling tenure complain that, too often, the AG’s office has lent its resources to the causes of big business, even when it meant alienating local prosecutors. District attorneys overwhelmingly supported Stirling’s opponent in the primary, Orange County District Attorney

Michael Capizzi. They cited cases in which, they claimed, Stirling had failed to negotiate a fair settlement for shoppers who bought lead-tainted mini-blinds and failed to aggressively pursue a case against computer-makers that routinely exaggerated the size of their monitors. The department settled the case without demanding any financial restitution for consumers who bought the falsely advertised computer screens.

Those attacks are prompting Stirling to counter that Lockyer is a fully owned subsidiary of the trial lawyers. Most of Stirling's attacks have raised his claim that Lockyer is easy on crime and is deceptively trying to drape himself in a cloak of tough-on-crime views just to get himself elected. Stirling has called Lockyer's attempt to run as a crime-fighter "humorous" and "feeble," but has been slow to criticize his opponent on specific law enforcement issues. In contrast, Stirling points to his role as Lungren's deputy at the justice department during a time of dramatic declines in violent crime. Stirling also says he has aggressively sought to limit the appeals process for death row inmates and has been an advocate for stiffer penalties for violent felons — including the "three strikes" legislation and the so-called "10-20-life" legislation. While Lockyer touts his ability to play insider baseball, Stirling outlines his intention to use the "bully pulpit of the attorney general's office" to advocate crime prevention. Stirling's camp also spotlights Lockyer's lack of courtroom experience, while emphasizing their man's legal background as a former superior court judge and administrative law judge.

Lockyer may be grasping for Gray Davis' coattails, but Stirling is busy asserting his independence from Lungren. Perhaps there is something to the rumors of a rift between him and his boss — or maybe he's just playing bare-knuckled politics. If Lungren fails to close the early gap separating him from Davis, Stirling won't want to hang around him long just for the spirit of party unity. These two men are not Musketeers.

As with all the down-ticket races, the ability of either candidate to get his message across will depend on fund raising and paid advertising. Stirling has raked in mountains of dough from American Indian tribes who want to continue casino operations, and hopes his endorsements among Central Valley agriculture interests will translate into financial backing. Lockyer's war chest, meanwhile, is buoyed with money he raised as Senate leader, as well as dollars from traditional Democratic loyalists such as labor unions and trial lawyers. 

—Anthony York

Secretary of State



Democrat: Michela Alioto of San Francisco. Republican: Incumbent Bill Jones of Sacramento. American Independent: Carolyn Rae Short of Durham. Libertarian: Gail Lightfoot of Pismo Beach. Natural Law: Jane Ann Bialosky of Santa Barbara. Peace and Freedom: Israel Feuer of Los Angeles. Reform: Valli Sharpe-Geisler of San Jose.

It turns out that, even with his name in the public arena,



Jones



Alioto

incumbent Bill Jones holds little advantage over challenger Michela Alioto in terms of voter recognition, according to the late summer Field Poll. This is yet another indication of the difficulties down-ticket incumbents face as they struggle to hold onto their jobs.

The bigger challenge, however, falls to Alioto, who despite her relatively strong showing in the name recognition department — she garners 28 percent to Jones' 24 percent — still faces an uphill task in overcoming the incumbent's advantage.

Alioto's camp, putting the best spin on early poll results, points to the 30 percent of respondents who favor her versus the 36 percent that favor Jones as a sign that she's within striking distance.

The Jones camp, meanwhile, emphasizes his showing in the primary, when he captured 50 percent of the total statewide vote to Alioto's 39 percent. And while Alioto probably benefitted from higher-than-

average Democratic turnout in June — driven by the contentious union initiative, Proposition 226 — the question of whether the Democrats will sustain momentum is an open one at this point.

Alioto, then, has to prove she can do a better job than Jones and become known outside the Bay area where her grandfather, former San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto, gives her name political heft. No stranger to campaigning — she made an expensive try for the 1st Congressional District in 1996 (see *CJ*, December 1996) — Alioto may still find it rough going since the millions needed to communicate with voters statewide tend to glom onto the top races.

The wheelchair-bound Alioto has been running on a platform of improving voter access and increasing participation and has criticized Jones on how he does his job. Some of her jabs have been at Jones' aggressive voter-fraud probe of the Sanchez-Dornan 46th Congressional District contest in 1996, when he took heat from Latino activists for investigating charges of voter registration fraud. But his endorsement by the Spanish newspaper *La Opinion* could soften that criticism. Alioto, meanwhile, received an endorsement from the Mexican-American Political Association, a statewide Latino voter group. Both are wooing the Latino vote.

Like many candidates, Alioto has taken to cyberspace to reach voters. She posted a searchable website (www.alioto98.com) listing her campaign contributions as well as Jones' latest available contributions. Alioto contends her site is more useful because of its search functions. Jones responds that her refusal to join his online campaign fundraising filing project at the Secretary of State website (www.ss.ca.gov) forces voters to visit multiple unlinked sites less subject to oversight.

This promises to be a spirited race despite the curse of obscurity that tends to mute down-ticket contestants. 

—Melanie Smith

Controller



Democrat: Incumbent Kathleen Connell of Los Angeles. Republican: Ruben Barrales of Redwood City. American Independent: Alfred "Al" Burgess of Colton. Libertarian: Pamela Pescosolido of Exeter. Natural Law: Iris Adam of Irvine. Peace and Freedom: C.T. Weber of San Diego. Reform: Denise Jackson of Fullerton.

Play conservative and don't make mistakes. That essentially is all Democrat Kathleen Connell needs to do to win a second term, what with the money and incumbency advantages she has over Republican opponent Ruben Barrales — advantages that can't be overstated in a lower-profile race. But it remains to be seen whether Connell will follow such a game plan or if she will make enough mistakes to give Barrales a chance at a big upset in November.

To lose the race, Connell would have to commit some serious blunders. After all, she had a million in the bank following the primary, while Barrales — a San Mateo County supervisor making his first run at state-wide office — had only \$30,000. Connell also looked strong in the uncontested primary, and as a result, pulled in almost 1.5 million more votes than Barrales.

Despite these advantages, Connell felt it necessary over the summer to file a lawsuit against the California Public Employees' Retirement System board — on which she sits — to throw out a conflict-of-interest regulation banning all board members from accepting campaign contributions from PERS investors. Connell insisted the regulation left her at a disadvantage because it did not prevent Barrales from accepting those very same contributions.

Unfortunately for Connell, the lawsuit wound up disclosing an accusation from a PERS consultant that her reelection campaign had tried shaking him down last year for contributions. Leslie Brun, CEO of Hamilton Lane Advisors, claimed in court documents filed by PERS lawyers that Connell's campaign had asked him three times for political donations, even though Brun had told them company rules prevented such donations. Brun also said that his company's contract with PERS was terminated after the company refused to make the contributions — a claim Connell's campaign consultant, Fred Register, explains away by saying that Hamilton Lane Advisors' contract was terminated based on the company's poor performance in providing investment advice. Register also questioned the validity of Brun's claim, citing campaign records which showed that Brun had been solicited for donations in 1996 and not '97.

The lawsuit gave Barrales a chance to go on the



Connell



Barrales

offensive, accusing Connell of trying to dodge conflict-of-interest rules. Barrales also pledged not to accept any money from PERS investors. Instead he's been focusing on other sources for donations, with the help of such national GOP luminaries as Bob Dole, Jack Kemp and Steve Forbes at fund-raising events. Barrales has received a boost as well from gubernatorial candidate Dan Lungren.

Lungren of course has been more than happy to have Barrales stumping with him around the state, as the GOP tries to repair its image among Latinos after endorsing Propositions 187, which cut off state aid to illegal immigrants, and 209, which banned state affirmative action programs. Barrales especially needs Latinos to come to his side to have any chance at overtaking Connell in November. 🏠

— Noel Brinkerhoff

Treasurer



Democrat: Phil Angelides of Sacramento. Republican: Curt Pringle of Garden Grove. American Independent: Edmon Kaiser of Fresno. Libertarian: Jon Petersen of San Jose. Natural Law: Carlos Aguirre of Laguna Niguel. Peace and Freedom: Jan Tucker of Toluca Lake.

Both Democrat Phil Angelides and Republican Curt Pringle bring baggage, in dual quantity, into this race. The only questions are how much of it gets flung around by Election Day, and whether voters will hear any of the simian grunting each side will emit about the other.

For Angelides, a former state Democratic Party chairman, the first problem is whether a critical mistake from his 1994 treasurer campaign will continue to haunt him. That year Angelides ran a television ad against his primary opponent, Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, which implied that the pro-life Democrat had sanctioned the killing of a Florida abortion doctor. Observers believed that the ad soured voters' opinion of Angelides and hurt him in the general election against Republican Matt Fong, to whom Angelides lost despite outspending him three-to-one.



Pringle



Angelides

Angelides also has a problem with some angry homeowners in a development project he helped create in southern Sacramento a few years ago. According to a story in the *Sacramento News & Review*, some of the early homebuyers of Laguna West have been threatening to file suit against Angelides, claiming the property values of their custom-built homes dropped after the developer changed his original vision and allowed the building of less expensive housing in the area.

So far, Pringle's camp has been chirping about both

issues. Of course, Angelides supporters haven't been shy either about bringing up the two electoral scandals with which Pringle has been associated.

During Pringle's first election to the state Assembly in 1988, the local Orange County Republican Party hired uniformed, private security to patrol certain polling precincts on Election Day to dissuade non-voters from casting ballots illegally. The effort angered Latino leaders who filed a lawsuit against local GOP officials, claiming the effort was geared towards intimidating and suppressing Latino turnout at the behest of Pringle.

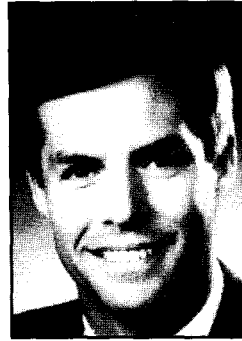
Then, in 1995, Pringle, along with other Orange County GOP leaders, spearheaded a recall of GOP Assemblywoman Doris Allen after she was elected speaker with the help of Democrats. Controversy arose in that race when some Republican staffers — including two of Pringle's — pleaded guilty to election law violations for helping place a phony Democratic candidate on the recall ballot to ensure the victory of Republican Assemblyman Scott Baugh. Pringle was never indicted, however.

Because statewide races like treasurer tend not to draw a lot of attention, it's uncertain whether the sniping between the two sides over these issues will elevate beyond a low-level fax war. Both sides hope to air television ads to better familiarize themselves with voters, but that doesn't mean there will be enough money to also attack one another.

Back in June, Angelides held the advantage in money following an easier primary — \$1 million to \$90,000 — while Pringle had to blow most of his war chest to overcome Assemblyman Jan Goldsmith (R-Poway). Pringle, though, is skilled at raising money and will be helped by the largess of Greek developer and San Diego Chargers owner Alex Spanos, who already had contributed \$350,000 to the Republican's campaign by June 30. Spanos — a Central Valley builder and philanthropist who poured \$300,000 into Fong's 1996 campaign for treasurer — is backing Pringle because of the millionaire's rivalry with fellow Greek millionaire-developer Angelo Tsakopoulos, who's helped bankroll both of Angelides's runs for treasurer.

Both candidates will need the help of their Greek friends if they are to expand their visibility around the state. Despite Angelides' prior run at treasurer and Pringle's role as Assembly speaker in 1996, 40 percent of voters were unfamiliar with the two in a late August Field Poll, which gave Pringle the edge, 31 percent to 28 percent. 

—Noel Brinkerhoff



Quackenbush



Martinez

companies. Both perceptions were obliterated four years ago when Chuck Quackenbush — more or less a legislative back bencher — rode the Republican tide to victory over then-state Senator Art Torres. That year, Quackenbush took about \$2 million from insurers and managed a six-point victory, though he failed to get 50 percent of the vote.

Four years later, Quackenbush is running for re-election and this time, the tables appear reversed. This year, it is Democrats that appeared hesitant to jump into the fray. The usual legislative and local government prospects took a pass or went elsewhere, leaving the primary field open to two underfunded second-tier candidates — Assemblywoman Diane Martinez and Marin County Supervisor Hal Brown. Brown had marginally better organization, but Martinez had a state government ballot designation, a plus in a primary dominated by experience. Martinez also benefitted from increased Latino turnout, the absence of which sank Torres in 1994.

Carrying that success through to a general election campaign against Quackenbush will be difficult, but not impossible. Quackenbush has the advantage of incumbency and has facilitated enough insurance rate rebates to rebut charges that he's been soft on enforcing Proposition 103. He also has the advantage of having an unusual name that sticks with voters. In an August Field Poll, Quackenbush was the only down-ticket candidate — incumbent or otherwise — whose name recognition topped 50 percent.

Another advantage Republicans see for Quackenbush is his opponent. Few legislators in recent memory have managed to make so many enemies so quickly as Martinez has during her six years in Sacramento. During a committee confrontation with then Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, Martinez referred to Roberti as "the Godfather." Roberti, an Italian-American, was not amused. Up until 1996, her biggest legislative achievement was a bill that made it illegal to forbid female employees from wearing pants. On the one occasion where she drew praise for her legislative work — specifically her contribution to the state's new energy deregulation law — she promptly repudiated the law.

Quackenbush is apparently confident enough of his prospects that he grandly announced during the primary that he wouldn't take any insurance industry money this time out. Well, almost. It seems that while Quackenbush himself isn't accepting insurance money, his wife, Chris, a candidate in a competitive Sacramento state Senate race, is happy to take it. But Democrats insist hope is not entirely lost. Despite his relatively high name identification in the Field Poll, Quackenbush still only comes out six points ahead of Martinez — 41 percent to 35 percent. His performance in the open primary was also less than spectacular. Moreover, in a job that voters perceive as being a watchdog on the insurance industry, Martinez's abrasive personality may actually be a plus. Who better to be the insurance industry's

Insurance Commissioner



Democrat: Diane Martinez of Rosemead. Republican: Incumbent Chuck Quackenbush of Sacramento. American Independent: Merton Short of Durham. Libertarian: Dale Ogden of Santa Pedro. Peace and Freedom: Gary Ramos of Commerce.

When Californians first had the chance to elect a state insurance commissioner, the broad perception was that the office was a Democratic lock and that nobody would ever vote for a candidate who takes money from insurance

worst nightmare than somebody who's made a career of getting under her colleagues' skin? If Martinez is to defy conventional wisdom, however, she needs to start raising a lot of money fairly quickly. Although she has the endorsement of many of her legislative colleagues, none are exactly beating down her door with bags of money. Quackenbush, meanwhile, will have plenty of resources, even without tapping his former benefactors. If the year is as Republican as it is shaping up to be, Martinez's odds are long indeed. 🏠

—Steve Scott

Superintendent of Public Instruction

Nonpartisan candidates: Incumbent Delaine Eastin of San Francisco, Gloria Matta Tuchman of Santa Ana.

Incumbent Superintendent Delaine Eastin — forced into a November runoff with outspoken Santa Ana elementary school teacher and bilingual education critic Gloria Matta Tuchman — held a substantial margin, 37 percent to 18 percent, in an August 28 Field Poll. But the percentage of undecided voters — 45 percent — indicates both the low-profile nature of the superintendency as well as general public disaffection with the schools.

The fact that Eastin, a former Fremont assemblywoman running for her second term as superintendent, was forced into a runoff at all, garnering 43 percent of the vote in the primary, is significant — her predecessors have won re-election more often than not: Bill Honig was easily re-elected in the 1986 and 1990 primaries, as was Wilson Riles in 1974 and 1978. But Eastin is running in a tumultuous atmosphere for education, which has become a major public concern and the source of contentious political debate. She also heads an office that has never had much power beyond its "bully pulpit" and now wields even less in the wake of a court decision giving policy-setting authority to the state Board of Education appointed by the governor.

There is no love lost between Eastin and Pete Wilson, who controls both the board and, to a great extent, the state budget for education. His popular class-size reduction effort — a proposal suggested years ago by Eastin and other legislators — has generated considerable public attention and support, and he has used every opportunity to weaken Eastin's power even further in the media and through the budgetary process. The two clashed intensely over implementation of Proposition 227, the anti-bilingual education initiative, and over Wilson's insistence that all students be



Eastin



Tuchman

tested in English. His most recent slam at Eastin was to cut \$8 million from the budget of the state Department of Education, which she heads.

Tuchman, by contrast, is a longtime foe of bilingual education and a co-chair of the successful Proposition 227 to ban it. She also ran for superintendent in 1994, polling fifth in a field of 12. But she has limited statewide name identification against a candidate of proven — if sometimes acerbic — political skills, and, according to the most recent (June 30) campaign spending reports, considerably more money. According to Secretary of State's records, between Jan. 1 and June 30, Tuchman raised \$292,770 to Eastin's \$787,503, with Eastin building on a base of \$286,293 already in her war chest. Eastin's handlers believe Tuchman will receive "substantial" late contributions — as she did in the primary — from conservative backers who favor her opposition to bilingual education and support for school vouchers. Tuchman received \$175,000 alone from ultraconservative Christian businessman Howard Ahmanson before the primary.

Tuchman did win one pre-election victory when she successfully sued to force Eastin to change her ballot designation. Eastin cannot list herself as a teacher as well as superintendent, a Sacramento County Superior Court judge ruled, because she hasn't taught since she was a community college instructor in the late 1970s. 🏠

—Sigrid Bathen

Board of Equalization

District 1 (52% D - 29% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Johan Klebs of San Leandro. Libertarian: Kennita Watson of Palo Alto.

Pick a card, any card, and it likely will say, SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 2 (43% D - 41% R)

Democrat: Tom Santos of Elk Grove. Republican: Incumbent Dean Andal of Stockton.

Despite a heavy Democratic turnout and a spirited primary which gave a narrow victory to Tom Santos, former Assemblyman Dean Andal received 56 percent of the total vote. He is expected to have no problem being re-elected. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 3 (38% D - 45% R)

Democrat: Mary Christian-Heising of La Jolla. Republican: Claude Parrish of Rancho Palos Verdes. Libertarian: J.R. Graham of San Diego. Peace & Freedom: Maxine Bell Quirk of Orange.

The battle to replace termed-out incumbent Ernie Dronenburg in this GOP-heavy seat was decided in June when corporate controller Claude Parrish overcame board staffer Craig Wilson by 9,000 votes. For Parrish, the victory was long-coming after three previous attempts to win a board seat. Businesswoman Mary Christian-Heising again is the Democratic challenger, just as in 1994 when she lost to

Dronenburg by 26 points. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 4 (56% D - 28% R)

Democrat: Incumbent John Chiang of Chatsworth. Republican: Joe Adams of Burbank. Libertarian: William Jennings of Pasadena. Peace and Freedom: Shirley Isaacson of Malibu. Green: Glenn Bailey of Encino.

In a primary dominated by incumbents, John Chiang won out by running as an "acting" incumbent. The one-time staffer to then-boardmember Brad Sherman, Chiang was

tapped by Sherman to serve out the rest of his term after the latter was elected to Congress. Thanks to a reasonably broad fund-raising base, and the advantage of running for an office nobody knows much about, Chiang was able to exploit his ballot designation — "acting Equalization boardmember" — to good advantage. Though Joe Adams also has a reasonably attractive ballot designation — senior equalization auditor — it is doubtful he can put together the resources to compete in this L.A.-centered, Democrat-dominated district. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC.** 🏠

Pro-lifers target Supreme Court justices

California Supreme Court Chief Justice Ronald George has plenty of money for his November election campaign, broad support in the legal and business communities, bipartisan endorsements and opposition that has little funding or visibility.

So what's his problem?

Just this: that large numbers of people with doubts about lawyers, judges or the government don't seem to need much of a reason to vote against a justice. Majorities for state Supreme Court and appellate justices have been eroding — George got only 57 percent in 1994, with no opposing campaign — and this year the California ProLife Council is targeting him for removal because of an August 1997 ruling that struck down a law requiring parental approval before a minor can obtain an abortion.

George wrote the 4-3 opinion overturning the law on privacy grounds, and Justice Ming Chin joined it. The ProLife Council opposes both justices and hopes to turn the retention election into a referendum on the ruling, which, like most decisions overturning laws, is simpler to attack than to defend.

"They're most vulnerable on parental consent," said Mike Spence, vice president of the anti-abortion group. "I'd like to see them show up (at a debate) and defend the record."

Moreover, Spence contends that several other rulings merit public debate as well, notably those restricting property owners' ability to sue over government land-use restrictions. But you won't see George or anyone from his campaign at any debates.

"I don't think this kind of retention election lends itself to the debate format," George said in an interview.

The justices want to keep the focus away from individual rulings and on their overall careers, mainstream support and the need to keep the courts above politics. George criticizes "single-issue" campaigns, such as the one that unseated Tennessee Supreme Court Justice Penny White in 1996 for joining a 3-2 ruling that overturned a death sentence. (He studiously avoids talking about the 1986 defeat of California Chief Justice Rose Bird.)

Spokesman Peter DeMarco says campaign strategy will center mostly around a mailing to likely voters statewide, lauding George's 26-year record on the bench, and buying a listing on Democratic and Republican slate mailers. The

rest of the campaign money being raised will be held for media ads if opponents mount a late drive.

George and Chin are staying mostly in the background, meeting with editorial boards and making low-keyed speeches before aides step in to make fund-raising pitches. Most of the \$500,000-plus the chief justice had raised by the end of

August came from mailings to friends and acquaintances — "my Christmas card list," he said.

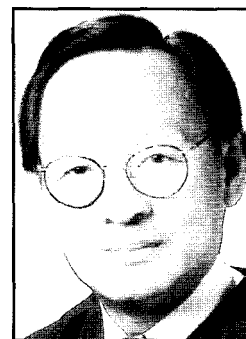
It's quite a list: chief executives for the likes of Hewlett-Packard, Transamerica, Airtouch Communications, the Los Angeles Dodgers and the San Francisco Giants, legal luminaries like former Secretary of State Warren Christopher and former American Bar Association President Robert Raven, and other lawyers and judges galore.

Potential conflicts of interest lurk in any such endeavor. Both George and Chin have returned contributions from parties with cases the court has accepted for review, though not from those who are *seeking* review, have cases earlier in the pipeline, or have businesses that could be affected by a ruling.

George has piled up bipartisan endorsements: Governor Pete Wilson, Lieutenant Governor Gray Davis, honorary co-chairs Senator



George



Chin

Dianne Feinstein and ex-Governor George Deukmejian, and organizations of prosecutors, police, manufacturers, and plaintiffs and defense lawyers. He's effectively locked up the establishment and preempted the crime issue that sank Bird.

Spence professes to be unworried. He says the ProLife Council has its own mailing list topping 100,000 and allies in conservative groups like the Eagle Forum, the Christian Coalition and the California Republican Assembly, all potential sources of committed campaign volunteers.

Visible to the media or not, he says, "There's a lot of activity against the judges out there." 🏠

— Bob Egelko

Congress



District 1 (48% D - 33% R)

Democrat: Mike Thompson. Republican: Mark Luce. Both of Napa. Libertarian: Emil Rossi of Boonville. Peace and Freedom: Ernest Jones Jr. of Ukiah.

All is quiet on this Western front that once had the potential to be a war zone. While the coastal district has flipped parties during the '90s and would ordinarily be targeted by both sides as a "must have," state Senator Mike Thompson's reputation appears to have preceded him and has dampened attack plans. Incumbent Republican Frank Riggs chose not to face Thompson, opting briefly for a U.S. Senate run, and Republicans were hard-pressed to even locate a candidate willing to take Thompson on. Thompson, chair of the powerful Senate Budget Committee and known around the Capitol for bringing together diverse interests and garnering bipartisan support, came out of the primary with 51 percent of the popular vote despite a \$400,000 challenge from San Francisco attorney Jim Hennefer. Napa County Supervisor Mark Luce, a Chevron chemical engineer, entered the race late and, as of midsummer, has been out-fund-raised by Thompson 10-to-1. Republicans could still take a stab at it, but this race isn't high on their target list. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 2 (39% D - 44% R)

Democrat: Roberts Braden of Chico. Republican: Incumbent Wally Herger of Marysville. Natural Law: Patrice Thiessen of Mount Shasta.

Six-term Wally Herger sailed through the primary with 90 percent of the Republican vote, despite a challenge, and captured 63 percent of the popular vote. As he did in 1996, retired university professor Roberts Braden will try to trim those numbers. SAFE REPUBLICAN

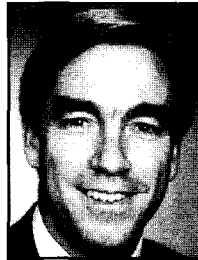
🔥 District 3 (44% D - 40% R)

Democrat Sandra Dunn of Carmichael. Republican Doug Ose of Sacramento. Libertarian: Ross Crain of Red Bluff.

Traditionally, the party not in control of the White House picks up con-



Dunn



Ose

gressional seats in the incumbent president's sixth year in office. Traditionally, the seats they pick up are ones like this. Redistricting and changing demographics have finally claimed 10-term incumbent Vic Fazio, who opted not to seek re-election this year after two recent, surprisingly strong election challenges. The departure of Fazio, who had risen to the third most powerful position within the hierarchy of the Democratic House leadership, has Republicans salivating over this increasingly conservative district. But if they win, it will be with many conservatives' second choice. Businessman Doug Ose employed a \$1 million primary campaign, complete with some of the season's most memorable negative television and radio spots, to defeat conservative state Assemblywoman Barbara Alby. But in his race against water attorney Sandee Dunn, Ose has the full backing of the congressional Republican leadership, who view this seat as one of their best opportunities to pick up ground in California. Count on the final price tag to top \$3 million before this one is over. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 4 (37% D - 47% R)

Democrat: David Shapiro of Garden Valley. Republican: Incumbent John Doolittle of Roseville. Libertarian: Dan Winterrowd of Pilot Hill.

Republican John Doolittle will have to do little to secure his fourth term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 5 (54% D - 30% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Robert Matsui. Republican: Robert Dinsmore. Both of Sacramento. Libertarian: Douglas Tuma of Antelope.

From the "If at first you don't

succeed" file: Robert Dinsmore makes his fourth futile run at 10-term incumbent Bob Matsui. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 6 (52% D - 29% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Lynn Woolsey of Petaluma. Republican: Ken McAuliffe of San Rafael. Natural Law: Alan Barreca of Santa Rosa.

Lynn Woolsey captured twice as many votes in the open primary as her two GOP rivals combined. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 7 (60% D - 23% R)

Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Concord. Republican: Norman Reece of Vallejo.

Though demographically a touch older than others in the Bay Area, the district is still solidly Democratic, and a lock for 12-term incumbent George Miller. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 8 (60% D - 14% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Nancy Pelosi. Republican: David Martz. Natural Law: David Smithstein. All of San Francisco.

Incumbent Nancy Pelosi faces the same group against whom she secured roughly five-sixths of the vote in the primary. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 9 (66% D - 12% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Lee of Oakland. Republican: Claiborne "Clay" Sanders of Oakland. Natural Law: Walter Rueblich of Antioch. Peace and Freedom: Gerald Sanders of Oakland.

Former state Senator Barbara Lee was elected earlier this year to fill the remainder of retired Representative Ron Dellums' term. In the April special election, Lee won the seat outright against two Democratic challengers, largely on the strength of a pre-emptive endorsement from Dellums, who backed her the day he announced his retirement. Lee then defeated the same batch of Democratic wannabes in the primary. In an overwhelmingly Democratic district, Lee is a shoo-in to win election to her first full term in Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 10 (41% D - 42% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Ellen Tauscher of Danville. Republican: Charles Ball of San Ramon. Natural Law: Valerie Janlois of Danville. Reform: John Pace of Walnut Creek.

By the numbers, it's almost impossible to conceive of a Democrat holding this suburban East Bay seat, or any seat once occupied by conservative firebrand Bill Baker. But Ellen Tauscher



Tauscher

is no ordinary Democrat — she's a "New Dog" moderate who spent \$1.4 million of her own money to knock Baker off two years ago. Tauscher's personal wealth and voting profile scared off traditional challengers, and the GOP's efforts to recruit a "name" candidate failed when former '49ers tight end Brent Jones decided he'd rather make millions as a CBS football analyst than spend millions challenging an incumbent member of Congress. Left without a visible challenger, GOP primary voters settled on Charles Ball, a youngish national security analyst at Lawrence Livermore Laboratories. Ball's campaign started modestly enough, but even a second-tier Republican draws attention in a district like this, and his summer campaign report showed Ball with \$216,000 in the bank, \$90,000 of it his own. Ball is also slated to get the full treatment from the GOP fund-raising team, with Speaker Newt Gingrich and House GOP Leader Dick Armey scheduled in by Election Day. But Tauscher's fund raising picked up during the summer, and she has a large personal fortune from which to draw money to close the deal. Tauscher has also benefited from a voting record that positions her as the classic suburban moderate. Ball can be expected to pick and choose votes in a bid to paint Tauscher as more liberal than she appears, and also can be expected to try to swirl Bill Clinton's troubles into the mix. But Tauscher showed strong in the open primary, more than doubling up on Ball's total. If she goes down in November, it would probably only happen as part of a 1954-style GOP tidal wave. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 11 (46% D - 41% R)

Democrat: Robert Figueroa of

Manteca. Republican: Incumbent Richard Pombo of Tracy. Libertarian: Jesse Baird of Stockton.

Conservative Republican Richard Pombo got twice as many votes as Robert Figueroa in the June primary. No reason to believe much will change come November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 12 (54% D - 25% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of Hillsborough. Republican: Robert Evans of San Francisco. Libertarian: Michael Moloney of San Mateo.

Republican Robert Evans filed late to keep Tom Lantos honest, but there's little chance he'll derail the nine-term incumbent. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 13 (55% D - 25% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Fortney "Pete" Stark of Fremont. Republican: James Goetz of Fremont. Natural Law: Karnig Beylikjian of San Jose.

The most exciting thing to happen in a Pete Stark campaign of late came in 1996, when his GOP opponent took a gratuitous below-the-belt cheap shot. No such histrionics this time out, and no worries for Stark. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 14 (47% D - 33% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Anna Eshoo of Palo Alto. Republican: John Haugen of Palo Alto. Libertarian: Joseph Dehn III of Stanford. Natural Law: Anna Curriuan of Los Altos.

Anna Eshoo drew miniscule opposition in the primary, and the GOP contest was actually fairly competitive, with John Haugen, a teacher, winning by six points. Although the registration figures are not overwhelmingly Democratic, Eshoo has run strong since winning her first term in 1992, and Haugen does not appear to be mounting the kind of campaign needed to oust a three-term incumbent. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 15 (45% D - 36% R)

Democrat: Dick Lane of San Jose. Republican: Incumbent Tom Campbell of Campbell. Natural Law: Frank Strutner of Santa Clara.

Secure in a district that seems to like him just fine, Tom Campbell's name has become a hot ticket for other Republicans looking for a moderate to add to their endorsement lists. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 16 (52% D - 28% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Zoe Lofgren of San Jose. Republican: Horace Thayne of San Jose. Natural Law: John Black of Palo Alto.

Democratic registration has been dribbling away in this Silicon Valley district, but Zoe Lofgren still has several overpowering advantages in an incumbent year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 17 (52% D - 29% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Sam Farr of Carmel. Republican: Bill McCampbell of Monterey. Libertarian: Rick Garrett of Aptos. Natural Law: Scott Hartley of Watsonville.

Republican Bill McCampbell has run for this seat almost as many times as incumbent Sam Farr. This year shouldn't yield much different results from previous years. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 18 (49% D - 36% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Gary Condit of Ceres. Libertarian: Ken Aaroe of Vernalis.

Central Valley Democratic kingmaker Gary Condit is already every Republican's favorite Democrat, so they decided to not even field a candidate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 19 (41% D - 45% R)

Republican: Incumbent George Radanovich of Mariposa. Libertarian: Johnathan Richter of Fresno.

If there were such a thing as a mercy rule in electoral politics, there wouldn't even be an election here. Democrats aren't even going to try against two-term incumbent George Radanovich, who can spend his time raising money for Republican Cliff Unruh in his attempt to defeat neighboring Democrat Cal Dooley. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 20 (53% D - 33% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Cal Dooley of Visalia. Republican: Cliff Unruh of Reedley.

This one wasn't even on the radar screen for Republicans in May. But that was before incumbent Democrat Cal Dooley took in a less-than-impressive 44 percent of the vote total in the open June primary. Enter Cliff Unruh, an also-ran in the 1996 Republican primary against Trice Harvey and a former life insurance salesman. Unruh has been a field representative for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce since 1981, and has



Dooley



Unruh

just the kind of conservative political beliefs you would expect from a 17-year chamber veteran. In addition to his traditional economic conservatism, Unruh says he would like to see the nation's laws reflect those of the Bible, offering voters a stark contrast in ideologies when they go to the polls next month. An Unruh spokesman says they've been "busy as cranberry" since Dooley's poor showing and swears this race is high on the Republican wish list for the fall. Look for Clinton's troubles to be an issue in this campaign, wrapped up in the familiar political euphemism of family values. Dooley, meanwhile, claims to have heard the wake-up call from the June primary and is busy shoring up his base in this largely Hispanic, largely Democratic district. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 21 (37% D - 48% R)

Republican: Incumbent Bill Thomas. Reform: John Evans. Both of Bakersfield

Some seats in the Central Valley are battlegrounds. This is not one of them. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 22 (41% D - 41% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Lois Capps of Santa Barbara. Republican: Tom Bordonaro of Paso Robles. Libertarian: Robert Bakhaus. Reform: Richard Porter of San Simeon.



Capps



Bordonaro

To voters along the Central Coast, this must be like listening to a broken record. Haven't they heard this song before? Ever since the untimely death of congressional freshman Walter Capps,

his widow Lois and state Assemblyman Tom Bordonaro have been locked in a fight for this Santa Barbara seat. This fall will mark the third time these rivals have squared off on the ballot this year, and Capps has outpolled Bordo both times before. So why should anything be different this time? For one, the candidates have always been within spittin' distance of each other. In June, Capps finished more than 13,000 votes ahead of Bordonaro, but that was with another Republican on the ballot. Republicans still claim that if the planets align in their favor — namely if the Clinton scandal depresses Democratic turnout — they can pull this one out of the hat. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 23 (42% D - 40% R)

Democrat: Dan Gonzalez. Republican: Incumbent Elton Gallegly. Both of Simi Valley.

There was talk early on about some Latino money making its way to Dan Gonzalez, mostly to irritate Elton Gallegly, Congress' reigning illegal immigrant basher. So far, nothing much has come of that threat. Even if the money comes, it likely won't be enough to change the final result. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 24 (45% D - 38% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Brad Sherman of Sherman Oaks. Republican: Randy Hoffman of Thousand Oaks. Libertarian: Erich Miller of Reseda. Peace and Freedom: Ralph Shroyer of Woodland Hills. Natural Law: Catherine Carter of Malibu.



Sherman



Hoffman

Another election, another Democratic incumbent at the top of the GOP hit list. Since it was reapportioned to encompass part of southern Ventura County, this swing district has been targeted by Republicans and won by Democrats. Until 1996, the seat was occupied by liberal Tony Beilenson, and when he retired in '96, it was Brad Sherman who took over. A balding former Board of Equalization member

who hands out combs as an ice-breaking campaign gag, Sherman beat 1994 GOP candidate Richard Sybert, loaning himself more than half a million dollars to help secure the victory. Convinced they were only a candidate away from capturing the seat, the GOP recruited Randy Hoffman, a deep-pocketed entrepreneur who heads a company — Magellan Systems — that makes satellite tracking equipment. Like Sherman, Hoffman seeded his campaign with half a million big ones, but he had to spend at least a part of that bounty clearing away the primary opposition. His relatively weak 52 percent of the GOP vote and poor showing against Sherman reflected the pro-incumbency mood that ruled in the primary. But it takes more than a bad primary to get the GOP to leave this seat alone, and by Election Day, the full leadership armada will have come a-calling. The campaign has already started off nasty, with Hoffman accusing Sherman of "laundering" contributions from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee through his Board of Equalization campaign committee (the contributions, all legal, were made to retire his debt in a previous campaign). Hoffman has even taken shots at Sherman's campaign combs. Touting himself as the experienced choice, Sherman is dusting off the "empty suit" characterizations made about another rich political wannabe, former U.S. Senate candidate Michael Huffington. Like most other incumbent Democrats in swing districts, Sherman faces the conundrum of identifying with President Clinton's popular policies while distancing himself from Clinton's personal behavior. But unlike other swing Democrats, Sherman has a district which has, in the past, tilted somewhat more Democratic than registration numbers might suggest. It supported Barbara Boxer in 1992 and gave Beilenson a two point win in 1994 even as Democrats elsewhere were getting slaughtered. Both candidates expect to have spent more than \$1 million when all is said and done, and whomever winds up winning, each is going to have to find a way to pay back half a million dollars ... to himself. TOSS-UP

District 25 (38% D - 46% R)

Republican: Incumbent Howard "Buck" McKeon of Stevenson Ranch. Libertarian: Bruce Acker of Chatsworth.

Up in what passes for "gun rack

country" in Los Angeles County, Democrats didn't even call three-term incumbent Howard "Buck" McKeon out this year. Of course, it might have been different if his nickname had been "The Dandy" instead of "Buck." SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 26 (59% D - 24% R) —

Democrats: Incumbent Howard Berman of North Hollywood. Green: Maria Armoudian of Granada Hills. Libertarian: Juan Carlos Ros of Studio City. Natural Law: David Cossak of Valley Village.

A long-simmering feud between Howard Berman and San Fernando mayor Rudy Godinez over a perceived lack of respect toward his constituents prompted Godinez to enter the primary against the veteran incumbent. The challenger wound up winning a third of the Democratic vote, but there's a large asterisk: The GOP didn't field a contender in the open primary, and Godinez benefited from a surge of Latino voters who went to the polls to vote in the contentious 30th Senate District fight between Richard Alarcon and Richard Katz. Berman will likely continue to hold the seat for as long as he wants, but he probably wouldn't mind a little help from his fellow Democrats in Sacramento when the next redistricting rolls around. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 27 (44% D - 39% R)

Democrat: Barry Gordon of Pasadena. Republican: Incumbent James Rogan of Glendale. Libertarian: Bob New of La Canada.



Gordon



Rogan

Democratic spin doctors have been selling their party's chances in this suburban district almost from the time James Rogan's seven-point victory in 1996 was certified. They argue the same demographic trends which helped their party pick up state Senate and Assembly seats in '96 work to their advantage this time out, and they might have won two years ago had the party's preferred

candidate — Barry Gordon — not been beaten by self-funded perennial Doug Kahn. Even with Kahn, Rogan won only 50 percent of the total vote. With the party's internal polls showing Rogan can be had, Democrats lured Gordon back for another run. A one-time Screen Actors Guild president, Gordon is one of those familiar character actors whose name you can never quite remember. He was a regular on shows like "Barney Miller," and "Archie Bunker's Place," and also does cartoon voices. That experience has given him access to a well-heeled show business community, and thanks to contributions from fellow actors, writers, and even a producer or two, he out-raised Rogan in the most recent campaign reporting period. But lest the Democrats get too giddy, the fall should offer some cold reality. Rogan secured a robust 60 percent of the total vote in the open primary, a surprising show of strength in a primary where Democrats were getting out their votes. As district registration has moved Democratic, Rogan has also played up his background as the child of a welfare mother and mentions that he was once a Democrat himself. And then there is the Clinton factor. Rogan, a former judge, was tapped early on by House Speaker Newt Gingrich to research congressional precedents for possible impeachment inquiries. Gordon's campaign had hoped to use the designation as evidence that Rogan was more concerned with being a "Gingrich clone" than with serving the needs of the district. The impeachment angle has been dropped, however, in part as a result of the president's growing legal troubles. But the Gingrich clone angle is still alive. Despite his Democratic background, Rogan was always one of the Legislature's most conservative members, and that conservatism has carried through to his tenure in the House. Gordon also hopes to portray Rogan as an absentee lawmaker, AWOL on local issues such as the expansion of Burbank Airport. Gordon did score an early campaign coup, goading Rogan into dropping his endorsement of GOP Assembly candidate Peter Repovich, who was suspended from his L.A.P.D. job for sexual harassment. But so far, nobody in the Rogan camp is showing signs of panic. In a year shaping up as a good one for the GOP, it'll take more than campaign "gotcha" to unseat this incumbent, demographics and all. By the numbers, too close to call, but

Rogan still enjoys the early advantage. TOSS-UP

District 28 (41% D - 43% R)

Democrat: Janice Nelson of Sierra Madre. Republican: Incumbent David Dreier of San Dimas. Libertarian: Jerry Douglas of Montrose. Green: Walt Sheasby of Sierra Madre. Natural Law: Lawrence Allison of Claremont.

Democrat Janice Nelson has an impressive resume of accomplishments as a medical school professor and real live M.D. But as long as she's running against California's most influential House Republican, she won't be adding "member of Congress" to her *curriculum vitae*. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 29 (56% D - 25% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Henry Waxman of Los Angeles. Republican: Mike Gottlieb of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Mike Binkley of Los Angeles. Natural Law: Karen Blasdell-Wilkinson of Santa Barbara.

If you're a Republican, and you're looking for a cover story so you can clear a little free time away from the pressures of juggling family and work, you might consider running for Congress in Los Angeles. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 30 (62% D - 19% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Xavier Becerra. Republican: Patricia Parker. Both of Los Angeles.

No, seriously. Consider the possibilities. You want to spend a night out with friends, or maybe go play poker with the guys at the office? No sweat. "Sorry, honey, but I have to go to another one of those darn candidate forums." And if you win in the poker game, so much the better. "Had a good day fund raising today, hon." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 31 (57% D - 24% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Matthew Martinez of Monterey Park. Republican: Frank Moreno of Alhambra. Libertarian: Michael Everling of Los Angeles. Green: Gary Hearne of Culver City. Green: Krista Lieberg-Wong of Alhambra.

And on Sundays, after spending six hours watching football games with your buds, or bargain-hunting with co-workers, you just roll up your shirt sleeves, muss your hair, and stumble back into the house. "Precinct walking," you say, "and boy are my dogs tired."

You can't find a Republican to save your life out there." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 32 (73% D - 12% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Julian Dixon of Los Angeles. Republican: Laurence Ardito of Culver City. Libertarian: Vleko Milosevich of Los Angeles.

The best part is Election Day itself. Sure, you get clobbered, but since everybody knew that was going to happen anyway, you get sympathy without a lot of complicated post-mortems. "Hey," you exclaim, "I knew it was an uphill climb, but I wanted to give something back to my community." Of course, all you really gave back were the poker winnings. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 33 (67% D - 16% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard of Los Angeles. Republican: Wayne Miller of South Gate.

Just something to consider. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 34 (61% D - 25% R)

Democrat: Grace Napolitano of Norwalk. Republican: Ed Perez of Santa Fe Springs. American Independent: Walter Scott of La Puente. Libertarian: Jason Heath of Los Angeles.

All of the action in this middle-class, Latino-influenced seat was in the primary, and there was plenty of it. Outgoing incumbent Esteban Torres tried to finesse a handoff of the seat to his son-in-law and chief of staff James Casso by announcing his retirement two days before the filing deadline. But he wasn't tricky enough to prevent veteran Assemblywoman Grace Napolitano from tossing her hat into the ring — a hat she had originally intended for a state Senate run. The 39-year-old Casso played his connections as well as he could, securing a plum endorsement from Napolitano's erstwhile legislative leader, Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. Casso also enjoyed strong backing from a large array of local civic leaders, including most of those from Napolitano's base in Norwalk. But Napolitano had the advantage of strong name recognition in the district, as well as the ability to pump about \$200,000 of her own money into the race. She also benefited from being the only woman in the race. She didn't win by much, but she did win, and given the district's heavy Democratic slant, is a virtual lock to move her act to Washington next year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 35 (75% D - 10% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles. American Independent: Gordon Mego of Hawthorne.

Of course, there are some places where the old campaign cover story just won't fly, no matter how convincingly you try to sell it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 36 (42% D - 41% R)

Democrat: Janice Hahn of San Pedro. Republican: Steve Kuykendall of Rancho Palos Verdes. Libertarian: Kerry Welsh of Torrance. Reform: John Konopka of Los Angeles.



Hahn



Kuykendall

On the rare occasions when Southern California Republicans own up to experiencing lust, they're usually talking about their deep desires to reacquire this coastal, decidedly GOP-leaning seat. For the last six years, it's been on loan to Democrat Jane Harman, and would likely have stayed in her grip had she not suddenly fancied herself a candidate for governor. Harman's decision to give up the seat opened the field, and three well-financed Republicans lined up in hopes of being the one to do the honors. The three — Steve Kuykendall, L.A. Councilman Rudy Svorinich and perennial candidate Susan Brooks — collectively chewed through nearly \$750,000 in their quest, and the contest got nasty at times. Kuykendall parlayed his standing as a member of the Assembly to present himself as the "experienced" choice, which turned out to be an important status symbol in the primary. Although his legislative district only overlaps about a quarter of the congressional district, it's an important part for Republicans, encompassing the conservative Palos Verdes peninsula. The pro-choice Kuykendall also has a reputation as a moderate, having bucked his caucus on some issues, notably gun control. But Kuykendall has this ... thing ... in his past. His razor-thin victory in his initial 1994 Assembly race was secured by an 11th-hour \$125,000 contribution from

Philip Morris, one of the Democrats' "Great Satans." Hard as he has tried to live it down, Kuykendall can expect to again hear about the contribution from Janice Hahn. Uncontested in the Democratic primary, Hahn had a nearly \$100,000 financial edge over Kuykendall after the primary. A member of the Los Angeles Charter Commission, Hahn carries some reflected name identification as the daughter of the late L.A. Supervisor Kenneth Hahn. The GOP can be expected to try to paint Hahn as a dangerous liberal, and registration alone guarantees that the full cast of characters from both sides of the aisle will descend on the district at some point. Both candidates will likely try to target independent voters, as more than 13 percent of district registration is decline-to-state. The Clinton effect is also uncertain — the district gravitates toward "straight shooters," but it also has a somewhat libertarian, "live and let live" streak. The district likes women, which favors Hahn, but it also likes moderates, which could boost Kuykendall. The GOP points to internal polling favoring Kuykendall, but that could reflect residual name identification from the primary. TOSS-UP

District 37 (72% D - 12% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Juanita Millender-McDonald of Carson. Republican: Saul Lankster of Compton.

After dispatching relatively inconsequential primary opposition, Juanita Millender-McDonald now coasts to her second full term in Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 38 (51% D - 33% R)

Democrat: Peter Matthews of Long Beach. Republicans: Incumbent Steve Horn of Long Beach. Libertarian: David Bowers of Downey.

Four years ago, university professor Peter Matthews ran an aggressive campaign against moderate incumbent Steve Horn. Two years ago, he didn't even make it out of the primary, losing to openly gay attorney Rich Zbur in a contest that turned nasty at the end. Matthews is back yet again, but despite the favorable registration numbers for Democrats, the moderate pro-choice Horn seems to have effectively tailored his image to the sensibilities of the district. It'll take a whole lot more money than Matthews can muster to take out Horn. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 39 (38% D - 46% R)

Democrat: A. "Cecy" Groom of Cerritos. Republican: Incumbent Ed Royce of Fullerton. Libertarian: Jack Dean of Fullerton. Natural Law: Ron Jennings of Tustin.

School board member Cecy Groom's margin of victory over Democrat Charlie Ara was less than 400 votes in June. His margin of defeat at the hands of incumbent Ed Royce will be considerably larger in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 40 (37% D - 46% R)

Democrat: Robert Conway of Phelan. Republican: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of Redlands. Libertarian: Maurice Mayben of Helendale.

Democrat Bob Conway is back for another shot at 10-term Jerry Lewis. Two years ago, he sneaked to within 50,000 votes of the incumbent. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 41 (39% D - 45% R)

Democrat: Eileen Ansari of Diamond Bar. Republican: Gary Miller of Diamond Bar. Green: Cynthia Allaire of Pomona. Libertarian: Kenneth Val-

entine of Alta Loma. Natural Law: David Kramer of Chino Hills.

Earlier this year, incumbent Republican Jay Kim's congressional career melted down over a felony conviction for accepting and concealing illegal contributions during his first run for Congress back in 1992. Kim, seeking his fourth term, found it difficult to campaign while under house arrest in Virginia and, as a result, he lost the primary to Assemblyman Gary Miller. The victory most likely earned Miller a trip to Washington. Democrat Eileen Ansari, a Diamond Bar councilwoman, has an electoral base from which to mount a campaign, but it is one she shares with Miller, a former member of the same council who has been getting elected to one job or another in this area for a decade. SAFE REPUBLICAN

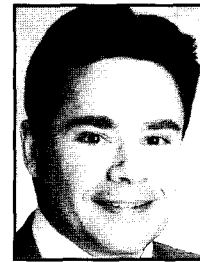
District 42 (51% D - 34% R)

Democrat: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Colton. Republican: Elia Pirozzi of Rancho Cucamonga. American Independent: Hale McGee of Claremont. Libertarian: David Hollist of Alta Loma.

Well, here we are. Another George



Brown

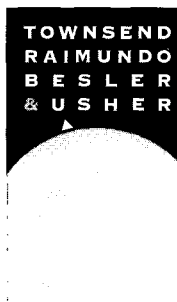


Pirozzi

Brown re-election campaign looms on the horizon, and once again, Republicans are predicting the end of his 36-year congressional career. Of course, Republicans have been predicting Brown's demise for most of the 1990s. And although they have come close on several occasions, the 78-year-old incumbent has remained upright. The GOP came closest two years ago when Judge Linda Wilde came within 400 votes of ousting Brown, and Republicans now contrast Brown's performance with that of Bill Clinton in 1996 — Clinton carried the district by 25,000 votes — to show that Brown is finished. But the converse also is true. In district match-ups, Brown won in 1992 at a time when Bruce Herschensohn was

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clobbering Barbara Boxer in a U.S. Senate tussle, and in 1994 when Kathleen Brown didn't come within a galaxy of Pete Wilson in their gubernatorial dust-up. The 1998 Brown-basher *du jour* is businessman Elia Pirozzi, who faces several challenges — Brown being only one of them. First, Pirozzi is a political neophyte who is virtually unknown in the district, even after winning a spirited June primary. He has spent the early part of the campaign just solidifying his base and getting his name out by walking precincts, grass-roots organizing and targeting mail to Republican households. When he goes after Brown, he plans to avoid mistakes made by previous campaigns that attacked the incumbent personally. Instead, Pirozzi plans to focus on Brown's record, contrasting, for instance, his vote against welfare reform while representing a district where 30 percent of the population is on welfare. He also plans to hammer at Brown for not preventing the closure of Norton Air Force Base. But those are risky attacks. Base closures happened everywhere in California, in GOP-held districts as well as in this one. And the high welfare rolls indicate that few families are untouched by the area's depressed economy. Changes in welfare laws have meant hardship for some, so it could backfire if Brown is attacked for what may have been a vote on behalf of a substantial chunk of his constituency. Also, registration numbers have improved for Democrats in this district over the past few years. The issues — local in nature — are fodder for the war that will be fought in district mailboxes. Money for that war will be plentiful for both sides — perhaps \$1 million from each camp. This is a race that will simmer through most of the fall but heat to inferno status by Election Day. TOSS UP

District 43 (39% D - 46% R)

Democrat: Mike Rayburn. Republican: Incumbent Ken Calvert. Green: Phill Courtney. Natural Law: Annie Wallack. All of Riverside.

Incumbent Ken Calvert never has an easy ride to re-election. In this year's blanket primary, he beat off challenges from a pair of GOP opponents, who held him below 40 percent of the overall vote. Tea-leaf readers suggest that incumbents who manage less than 50 percent of the popular vote in a blanket primary are vulnerable in the fall, but Calvert, who has weathered

tougher trials in the past, should earn his fourth term in Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 44 (42% D - 44% R)

Democrat: Ralph Waite of Palm Desert. Republican: Incumbent Mary Bono of Palm Springs. Natural Law: Jim Meuer of Palm Springs.

On the old TV show "The Waltons," Papa Walton never walked away from the kind of difficult challenge that confronted his large family during tough economic times. Unfortunately, actor Ralph Waite, who played Papa Walton, has to get along in the real world. Unable to generate much encouragement or funding from fellow Democrats, Waite in late August terminated his campaign, conceding that there was no way he could write victory into the script. Although his name appears on the ballot, his decision guarantees victory for incumbent Mary Bono, widow of Sonny. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 45 (32% D - 51% R)

Democrat: Patricia Neal of Huntington Beach. Republican: Incumbent Dana Rohrabacher of Huntington Beach. Libertarian: Don Hull of Costa Mesa. Natural Law: William "Bill" Verkamp, Jr. of Fullerton.

Democrats and some moderate Republicans would just love to see conservative bombast Dana Rohrabacher knocked off, just like Bob Dornan in 1996. But the only possible danger to Rohrabacher's tenure came in the primary, when Westminster Councilman Charmayne Bohman went after him with the help of GOP consultant Eileen Padberg, who is no fan of the right-wing GOP clique which dominates Orange County political circles. Bohman had a difficult time raising money and wound up losing big time to Rohrabacher. Now comes Democrat Patricia Neal, a former president of the California Realtors Association, who has raised \$200,000 and hired Loretta Sanchez' campaign team to try and pull off a Dornan-like upset against Rohrabacher. One problem, though. This is not the 46th, where Democrats enjoy a registration advantage on paper at least. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 46 (45% D - 38% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Loretta Sanchez of Santa Ana. Republican: Robert Dornan of Garden Grove. Libertarian: Thomas Reimer of Anaheim. Natu-



Sanchez



Dornan

ral Law: Larry Engwall of Santa Ana.

The conventional wisdom has been that Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez, if given the choice, wanted GOP firebrand Bob Dornan — the man she unseated two years ago by only 984 votes — as her opponent. Well, here he is, and he hasn't changed a bit. Dornan established himself as *numero uno villano* among Latinos after going to Congress with his claim that the '96 election was stolen from him by illegal immigrants. House Republicans, though, found insufficient evidence of voter fraud to throw out the election. Since then, Dornan has continued to do things to anger Latinos in the district, such as crashing Latino-sponsored social events and suggesting that guards be placed at polling places on Election Day to prevent non-voters from casting ballots; the "poll guard" idea is one which especially miffs Latinos, after local Republicans did just such a thing in a 1988 Assembly race. Of course, many Republicans, both locally and nationally, wanted Dornan to just go away after '96, including three who challenged him in the June primary. Dornan overcame attorney Lisa Hughes, Superior Court Judge Jim Gray and former Cypress Councilman Chuck Coronado to capture the nomination, but he exhausted his campaign account in the process. But then, in a surprising and controversial decision, House Republicans decided in August to partially reimburse both Dornan and Sanchez for their legal costs in the voter fraud investigation. Many Democrats lambasted the decision to give Dornan \$320,000, calling it a disguised, publicly financed jump-start for his fall campaign. Sanchez received \$250,000 for her legal expenses; however, none of it can be used for her campaign since the money originally came from a special legal defense fund. Sanchez still held an advantage with \$1 million in cash, but that gap will undoubtedly shrink as

Continued on page 33

CALIFORNIA HEALTHCARE FOUNDATION Health**Vote**'98



If you could



pose one question
about **health care**

to our



next Governor,

what would you ask

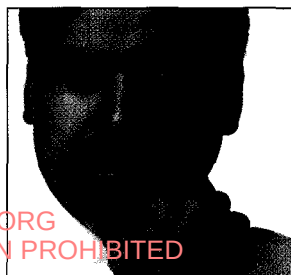
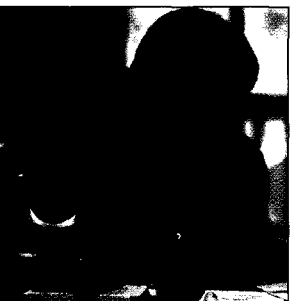
When **1,204** Californians were asked in a recent **HealthVote**'98 survey to answer this question in their own words, the response was overwhelming.

Sixty-two percent—a majority of the respondents—volunteered a broad range of questions on health care matters, most notably how to expand basic health services for children and the elderly and to ensure health care for all Californians.

The undertone of frustration and confusion reflected in the questions signifies that while the recent national and state-level debates over managed care, patients' rights, and access to care have raised the public's awareness of the problems in our current system, they have not necessarily raised public understanding of what or who is involved in solving those problems.

Californians of all races, ages and income levels responded to the call to question the candidates on their health-related positions and plans. What follows is a snapshot of the over 600 questions asked by a diverse group of Californians—Whites, African-Americans and Latinos, those with annual incomes under \$20,000 and over \$80,000, residents of every region of the state— from Tulare to Los Angeles Counties.

- What will you do about children, elderly and those who can't **afford** to pay to get health care?
- How to get **health care for kids** when parents work at fast food places? Do they really care about health care for kids?
- How do you plan to help **non-insured people**, the **working poor** that are uninsured that have no access to health care?
- What are they going to do to improve the health care **delivery system** in the state?
- How would you **regulate HMOs**? Who makes the decisions on what illnesses are covered and which are not?
- How much **public funding** do you favor for people who can't afford health care?
- How much money comes out of my **taxes** to pay for people who don't have insurance and for those on **Med-Cal**?
- How do you envision a program that would ensure **equitable health care coverage** for all people, poor as well as wealthy?
- I would ask what's going to happen to those who **don't have health insurance but need medical care**?
- What are you going to do concerning **emergency care** under HMOs?
- What are you doing to control the **rising costs** of medical care for low and middle-income families?
- Why is it that people on **state benefits** receive different services than **private insurance holders** and get treated differently?
- Will you make it more economical for **small businesses** to get insurance?
- How do you feel about funding health care for **illegal immigrants**?
- What would you do to make **HMOs** more **accountable** for their policies?



Survey Findings at a Glance



This survey was conducted in conjunction with The Field Institute as part of the California HealthCare Foundation's commitment to strengthening the debate on health care in this year's elections.

The survey results clearly indicate that health care is one of the most important issues for the candidates for Governor to address—outranking crime for the first time in many years. When Californians

were asked to assess the relative importance of five salient issues in this year's gubernatorial elections—education, jobs/the economy, crime, health care, and taxes—health care ranked high among the public's concerns.

While education received top billing, with 60 percent rating concerns with education as "most important," health care was second with 43 percent considering it a most important issue in the upcoming election for Governor. The results of the survey clearly indicate that the public is aware of and concerned about health care issues and is looking to state office holders for leadership.

Consider Health Care "Most Important" Among Range of Issues

Education	60%
Health care	43%
Jobs/the Economy	42%
Crime	41%
Taxes	28%

Consider Health Care "Most Important" by Race/Ethnicity and Income

All Adults	43%
Race/ethnicity	
White (non-Hispanic)	35%
Latino	60%
Black/African-American	64%
Asian/other	34%
Household income	
Under \$20,000	66%
\$20,000—\$39,999	47%
\$40,000—\$79,999	31%
More than \$80,000	30%

Consider Health Care "Most Important" by Age and Gender

All Adults	43%
Gender	
Male	34%
Female	51%
Age	
18—29	42%
30—49	40%
50—59	40%
60 or older	51%

HealthVote'98

HealthVote'98 is the California HealthCare Foundation's statewide public awareness campaign to encourage a spirited public discussion of health care issues among this year's political candidates, thereby improving the public's understanding of government's role in health care financing, delivery, and oversight. Project goals include:

- Conducting original research on and independent analysis of a range of health care issues and programs for which state government officials have clear responsibilities
- Educating the public on the importance of health care as an issue in Election '98
- Encouraging candidates in California to discuss health care issues, strategies, and positions in the course of campaigns
- Initiating partnerships with media and encouraging objective coverage of health care issues

In addition, the project is creating Election Watch '98 as part of the Foundation's *California Healthline* daily free news service, bringing election news from across the state.

The Field Institute, based in San Francisco, California, is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization devoted to the study of public opinion and behavior on social and political issues.

About the Survey

The results described in this report are based on a statewide telephone survey of 1,204 California adults. The survey was conducted in English and Spanish on August 18-24, 1998 by The Field Institute for the California HealthCare Foundation. Sampling error of survey is $\pm 3\%$.

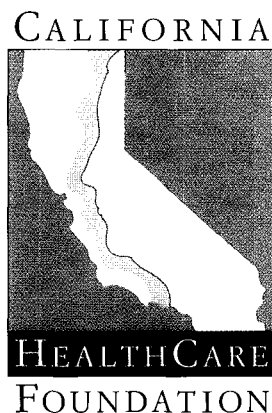


About the Foundation

The California HealthCare Foundation, based in Oakland, California, is a nonprofit philanthropic organization whose mission is to expand access to affordable, quality health care for underserved individuals and communities and to promote fundamental improvements in the health status of the people of California. The Foundation was established in 1996 by Blue Cross of California.

For a full copy of this survey and findings please call the California HealthCare Foundation at **510-238-1040**.

Visit the California HealthCare Foundation website at **www.chcf.org**.



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Republican leaders, including House Speaker Newt Gingrich, help Dornan raise money. Sanchez also has her Washington bigwigs to help at fund raisers, including Vice President Al Gore. A midsummer poll showed Sanchez with a 20-point lead, though many observers point to the incumbent's less-than-stellar performance in the primary — 45 percent of the total vote — as an indication that she is still vulnerable. For Sanchez, the Latino vote will again be critical, but she has also concentrated on expanding her base throughout the district. During her first term in Congress, Sanchez aligned herself with Blue Dog Democrats, calling for tax cuts and IRS reform, while flying home regularly on weekends to tend to local concerns. She has been criticized for modifying her stance on late-term abortions — after offering her unqualified support for a woman's right to choose in the '96 campaign — saying now that she opposes the procedure except in cases where the mother's health is at risk or the fetus suffers a major deformity. The abortion issue is an important and tricky one for Sanchez as she tries to maintain her support among Latino Catholics, who tend to be pro-life, and moderate, pro-choice Republicans, many of whom voted for her over the pro-life Dornan in '96. Folks in this district would be advised to watch out for the swarms of mail and the legions of volunteers that will be descending upon the area. TOSS UP

District 47 (29% D - 55% R)

Democrat: Christina Avalos of Orange. Republican: Incumbent Christopher Cox of Newport Beach. Libertarian: Victor Wagner, Jr. of Mission Viejo. Natural Law: Paul Fisher of Costa Mesa. Reform: Raymond Mills of Tustin.

If it's a late night for Christopher Cox on November 3, it won't be because he's counting returns in his House race. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 48 (28% D - 54% R)

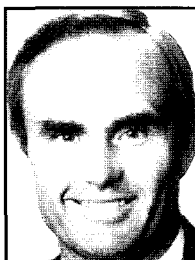
Republican: Incumbent Ron Packard of Vista. Libertarian: Daniel Mube of Carlsbad. Natural Law: Sharon Miles of Morro Bay Beach.

Eight-term incumbent Ron Packard had a pair of primary challengers who, between them, polled 16 percent of the GOP vote. Democrats didn't even appear. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 49 (40% D - 38% R)

Democrat: Christine Kehoe of San Diego. Republican: Incumbent Brian Bilbray of Imperial Beach. Libertarian: Ernest Lippe. Natural Law: Julia Simon. Peace and Freedom: Janice Jordan. All of San Diego.

The only competitive congressional district in the San Diego area, the 49th likely will produce more smoke than fire. Congressional Democrats believe they can knock off two-term incumbent Brian



Bilbray

Bilbray and, as a result, have put this district near the top of their California hit list. Their weapon: San Diego Councilwoman Christine Kehoe, who also serves on the state Coastal Commission. Not only does Kehoe bring an electoral base to the table, she is generating the kind of national attention that local candidates only dream about. If successful, she would become the first openly gay woman to be elected to the House. That possibility has aided Kehoe's fund-raising and volunteer base, as the gay community rallies around one of its own. She had raised more money than Bilbray as of the end of June and had more cash on hand, her \$700,000 kitty heavily seeded by groups such as EMILY'S LIST, the Gay & Lesbian Victory Fund, labor interests and trial lawyers. Hence, the smoke. Producing a fire fierce enough to burn out Bilbray is another matter. Before his election to Congress, Bilbray was a popular San Diego County supervisor who, since migrating to Washington, has charted just the kind of independent course that appeals to a district where more than 15 percent of voters register "decline to state." Two years ago, for instance, Bilbray earned a rebuke from the National Rifle Association for refusing his party's effort to repeal the ban on assault weapons. In addition, voters this year have generally favored incumbents — at least those without a felony conviction barnacled to their resumes. Also troubling for Kehoe and the Democrats are results from June. Neither side had a contested primary, so the vote was a trial run for November — and Bilbray outpolled Kehoe by more than 14,000 votes in an election where more Democrats voted than did Republicans. Both

sides will wade in with a lot of money over the next few weeks — estimates range from upwards of \$500,000 — but it is unlikely that Kehoe will dislodge the incumbent. Lost in the Bilbray-Kehoe commotion is Peace and Freedom candidate Janice Jordan. Although she has zero chance to win a seat in Congress, Jordan wins the stuffed teddy bear for the year's most intriguing ballot designation. The single mother of two bills herself as a wrestler. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 50 (50% D - 28% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Bob Filner of San Diego.

The political equivalent of the first 30 minutes of "Saving Private Ryan." Mailboxes stuffed with hit piece after hit piece. Airwaves blistered with attack ad after attack ad. Billboards, lawns, telephone poles, car windshields and bus benches papered with images from the campaign. Oh, the brutality of it all. The senseless slaughter. Can Filner survive the onslaught? SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 51 (30% D - 50% R)

Democrat: Dan Kripke of La Jolla. Republican: Incumbent Randy Cunningham of Escondido. Libertarian: Jack Anderson of San Diego.

Republican Randy Cunningham, a former Navy "top gun" fighter ace, will return for his fifth term in Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 52 (38% D - 43% R)

Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of La Mesa. Libertarian: Lynn Badler of El Cajon. Natural Law: Adrienne Pelton of Del Mar.

In the June primary, Libertarian Lynn Badler edged out Natural Lawist Adrienne Pelton for second place. Can she hold second place? Nothing else to watch in this desert district. SAFE REPUBLICAN. 🏠

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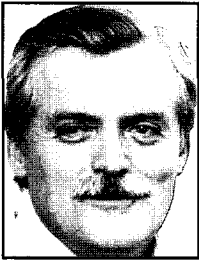
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State Senate



District 2 (51% D - 32% R)

*Democrat: Wes Chesbro of Arcata.
Republican: John Jordan of Santa Rosa.
Peace and Freedom: Brian Garay of
Mendocino.*



Chesbro



Jordan

One's thing's for sure in this race: no matter how much money Senate President pro tempore John Burton sends in Wes Chesbro's direction, the former Humboldt County supervisor is sure to spend less than Republican nominee John Jordan. Jordan, the 25-year-old scion of the family that owns the Jordan Winery, dropped a cool million in the primary, and is expected to spend up to three times that amount before the first week in November. Jordan, who has been running television ads since the week after Labor Day, has spent some of that money trying to prove carpetbagging charges against Chesbro, who owns a home in Sacramento. According to newspaper reports, an operative from the Jordan camp followed a woman he believed to be Chesbro's wife from Chesbro's Sacramento home. The woman noticed she was being followed, and the operative was detained and questioned by campus police at a local community college where the woman attends class. One small problem: the woman was Chesbro's tenant, not his wife, and members of the Jordan camp were left with egg on their faces. While Chesbro's campaign mockingly refers to Jordan only as "the kid," Democrats are genuinely worried about losing this seat, currently occupied by Mike Thompson, who will likely move on to Congress. Democrats tried unsuccessfully to draft termed-out Assemblywoman Valerie Brown (D-St. Helena), and now must rally around Chesbro. This quirky dis-

trict, stretching from the Oregon border down to Vallejo, is one of the largest in California in terms of area, and is home to some of the state's most liberal and most conservative voters. Chesbro's liberal voting record while on the board of supervisors led a top law enforcement labor union to endorse Jordan and could continue to plague him throughout the campaign. Meanwhile, the campaign is following a predictable, and nasty, course, with Chesbro billing himself as the seasoned political hand, painting Jordan as a rich political neophyte trying to buy the election. Jordan, meanwhile, has already launched ads claiming Chesbro is a carpetbagger. Neither candidate had a very impressive showing in the primary, and with more \$3 million likely to be dropped in this district before the race is over, there is still a lot of mud yet to be slung. TOSS-UP

District 4 (44% D - 39% R)

*Democrat: Mark DeSio of Davis.
Republican: Incumbent K. Maurice
Johannessen of Redding.*

Looks like incumbent Maurice Johannessen will have a firm grip here until he hits the term-limit wall, judging from his 60 percent take of the popular vote in June. CalPERS public affairs specialist Mark DeSio, described as tireless and hardworking by some election watchers, gets to add a full-fledged grassroots campaign to his political resume, which includes work as a legislative field rep and campaign staffer. But he won't be adding state senator to his bio in 1998. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 6 (46% D - 41% R)

*Democrat: Deborah Ortiz of Sacra-
mento. Republican: Chris Quackenbush
of Rio Linda. Libertarian: Gerald Klass
of Carmichael.*

Sacramento has replaced Peoria, Illinois as Anytown, USA. The U.S. Census Bureau decided to do their test run for 2000 in the area because of the demographic similarities to the nation as a whole. This Sacramento-area district supported Pete Wilson and Proposition 187 in 1994, Bill Clinton and



Ortiz



Quackenbush

Proposition 209 in 1996. So people are looking to this race as a potential bellwether for the state's other competitive races. The race pits two women against each other who share similar childhood stories: Both were raised by single parents in homes dependent on welfare checks. But that's where the similarities end. Republican Chris Quackenbush is probably more conservative than the district as a whole, while Democrat Deborah Ortiz is more liberal. Watching the two sprint toward the elusive center will prove entertaining. This will likely be one of the most interesting and expensive races this fall. Quackenbush, wife of Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush and herself a millionaire, will tell her Horatio Alger tale about how she parlayed a student loan and a \$20,000 windfall on a television game show into a successful career in business. Ortiz, meanwhile, touts her roots in the community and her record of service on the Sacramento City Council and in the state Assembly. Ortiz spent much of her final six months of this year's legislative session meticulously watching her votes, taking extra care not to give Quackenbush any ammunition for the campaign. The issue of campaign funding will likely be hot in this race. Quackenbush has received more than \$40,000 from the insurance industry, regulated by her husband, and was widely criticized by her Republican primary opponent for it. Ortiz, meanwhile, has received strong financial support from trial lawyers and is sure to get heavy financial backing from state Senator Richard Polanco (D-Los Angeles) during the campaign. Polanco, currently the number two person in the

Senate leadership hierarchy, is looking to move up. Support from Ortiz, a former Polanco staffer, will be helpful if he is ever to make a run at the Senate's top spot. T.O.S.S UP

District 8 (56% D - 22% R)

Democrat: Jackie Speier of Daly City. Republican: Jim Tomlin of San Mateo.

An Assembly veteran forced out by term limits in 1996, Speier is on track to return to Sacramento in the seat being vacated by independent iconoclast Quentin Kopp. Speier can be expected to be a more reliable vote for the Senate's Democratic leadership than Kopp, and she goes into the fall campaign with a substantial campaign war chest, some of which could be used to help Democrats elsewhere. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

SPECIAL ELECTION

District 9 (67% D - 12% R)

Democrat: Don Perata of Alameda. Republican: Deborah Wright of Oakland. Peace and Freedom: Marsha Feinland of Oakland.

When Barbara Lee won the congressional seat vacated by her former boss, Ron Dellums, she bailed from her state Senate seat, forcing a special election, the primary for which was held on September 11. The Democratic field in the contest was formidable — both nested Assembly members and an Alameda County supervisor. In the end, the battle came down to a fight between the two state lawmakers — Don Perata and Berkeley Democrat Dion Aroner. Perata was weighted down by some personal difficulties — his ailing father required considerable care and eventually died one week before the balloting. He also had to deal with his own health problems and some end-of-session complications. But Perata had an ace in the hole: The U.S. Postal Service. Thanks to a \$150,000 vote-by-mail campaign and as many as 10 mail pieces, Perata squeezed past Aroner by about a point and a half — 33.3 percent to 31.7 percent. Alameda Supervisor Keith Carson, the preferred choice of Lee and Dellums, finished a distant third. The contest itself was relatively high-road until the close, when Aroner attacked Perata for his involvement in the since-discredited deal to bring the Raiders back to Oakland. Aroner mobilized a huge volunteer army in the last week, making an estimated 21,000 calls

in the last three days, and actually won the polling on Election Day itself by about 2,000 votes. But overall turnout — a shade over 16 percent — was extraordinarily low even by special election standards. That gave Perata's 43-25 percent advantage in absentees added weight. Since nobody got a clear majority, there will be a runoff between Perata and Republican Wright, but district registration makes the result a foregone conclusion. Not so clear is what Perata will do after Election Day. He's also expected to win re-election to his Assembly seat and doesn't preclude the possibility he might delay his move to the Senate if his vote is needed to elect a Democratic speaker next year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 10 (53% D - 28% R)

Democrat: Liz Figueroa of Fremont. Republican: Bob Gough of Milpitas.

When former Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer made his term-limit-enforced exit from this Democrat-leaning Alameda County district, he left it open to the year's only head-to-head contest between two nested Assembly members — Figueroa from the Fremont-based 20th Assembly district and Mike Sweeney from the Hayward-centered 18th. The race was a study in contrasts between the effervescent Figueroa and the low-key Sweeney. Ultimately, though, it was Sweeney who hit the hardest, lacing into Figueroa over a large federal tax debt she owed. The hit, engineered by political consultant Richie Ross, backfired when it was learned a mailer criticizing Figueroa included her home address and social security number. A late infusion of more than \$100,000 from the Legislature's Latino caucus sealed the deal for Figueroa, who wound up winning by a surprisingly robust 12 percentage points. Republican Gough's ballot designation is "planner" and with the registration gap in this district, he'll need plans for what to do after the election. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 12 (46% D - 39% R)

Democrat: Sal Cannella of Ceres. Republican: Incumbent Richard Monteith of Modesto. Libertarian: Mary Lee Gowland of Coarsegold.

There aren't many incumbents in the Senate actively being targeted this November. Before Rob Hurtt's dismal showing in the primary, Senator Dick Monteith was probably highest on the

Democratic target list. But Monteith's strong showing in June has all but taken him off the fall hit list. Then again, Senate President pro Tempore John Burton (D-San Francisco) has been raising money like gangbusters and doesn't have too many races to spend it in. The Democrats are fielding former Assemblyman Sal Canella. But with the Clinton imbroglio, it's unlikely this is the year Democrats will try to pick up seats in the conservative Central Valley. It is up to Canella to keep himself within striking distance through the first half of October or risk being cut off from the Democratic caucus's money supply. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 14 (39% D - 48% R)

Republican: Charles Poochigian of Fresno.

This district has a propensity for breeding well-liked, moderate Republicans. After toying with a run for lieutenant governor, Charles Poochigian settled for an uncontested Senate run. Pooch is well-suited to succeed outgoing State Senator Ken Maddy, and should have no trouble holding on to this seat for two terms, unless he gets the urge to run for higher office. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 16 (53% D - 33% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Jim Costa. Republican: Gregg Palmer. Both of Fresno.

Every year, the Republicans talk about making a move in this seat. But if they're ever going to get it back, they will likely have to wait until Jim Costa is finished with his second term. Gregg Palmer's campaign has been low-key to say the least, and it would take a minor miracle to reverse Costa's 2-1 drubbing of Palmer in the blanket primary. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 18 (42% D - 40% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Jack O'Connell of San Luis Obispo. Republican: Gordon Klemm of Arroyo Grande. Libertarian: Jack Ray of Goleta.

Coastal districts like this Santa Barbara seat are supposed to be turbulent. But Jack O'Connell, the state Senate's Mr. Congeniality, has attained untouchable status in the district. With Ralph Dills' seemingly endless political career ended by term limits, O'Connell will likely be named presiding officer of the Senate after his re-election in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 20 (58% D - 25% R)

Democrat: Richard Alarcon of Sun Valley. Republican: Ollie McCaulley of Sun Valley. Libertarian: Linda Starr of Valley Village.

If ever there were an anti climactic general election, this is it. The Democratic primary in this San Fernando Valley district was far and away the most contentious and talked-about of the year, pitting former Assemblyman Richard Katz against Alarcon, the first Valley Latino to be elected to the L.A. city council. Drawing on their respective power bases, each wound up spending around \$750,000 on the race, much of it on a hellacious blizzard of attack mail, including a controversial Alarcon hit which sought to link Katz with Latino voter intimidation in Orange County. When all the votes were counted, Alarcon had won an impossibly narrow 29-vote victory. Katz responded by raising money to finance a recount and filing a lawsuit asking that the election result be overturned. A week into the recount, Katz dropped the effort, as it became clear it would only lengthen Alarcon's margin of victory (For more on the contest, see "Katz vs. Alarcon," *CJ*, August 1998). With all the hoopla behind him, the official coronation of "Senator" Alarcon will be almost silent by comparison. If Richard Katz couldn't beat Alarcon, there's zero chance an underfunded perennial like McCaulley will give him much trouble. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 22 (64% D - 17% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Richard Polanco. Peace and Freedom: Muffy Sunde. Both of Los Angeles.

Richard Polanco was the 800-pound gorilla in the primary, distributing hundreds of thousands of dollars to Latino primary candidates, most notably on behalf of Richard Alarcon in the aforementioned 20th Senate district. It was Polanco's name and signature that appeared on the mailer which prompted Katz' election challenge and lawsuit. Unlike candidate Alarcon, Polanco offers no apologies for the mailer, nor does he apologize for his active primary dabbling on behalf of Latino candidates. Should he aspire to the leadership of the Senate, Polanco figures to have a small stable of Senate colleagues who will be indebted to him for their seats. If disaster should hit Senate President pro Tempore John Burton's

general election efforts, Polanco might be positioned to make a run at the post, if he's so inclined. As for his own seat, Polanco didn't even draw a Republican, and doesn't figure to get much grief from any minor party candidate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 24 (58% D - 24% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Hilda Solis of El Monte. Republican: Carl Taylor of La Puente. Libertarian: Kim Goldsworthy of Rosemead.

If Polanco does make a run at the leadership, he'll do it over Hilda Solis' dead body. The San Gabriel Valley liberal is Polanco's most visible rival in the Legislature's Latino Caucus. She'll be back for another round next year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

District 26 (76% D - 10% R)

Democrat: Kevin Murray of Culver City. Republican: MacLane Key of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Bob Weber of Culver City.

This urban L.A. district is being vacated by termed-out incumbent — and future U.S. ambassador to Micronesia — Diane Watson. All of the action was in the primary, a lively affair which highlighted some of the rivalries developing in L.A.'s urban core. Murray, one of two nested Assembly members in the district, boasted a hefty fund-raising base and the support of the area's major domo, Representative Maxine Waters. His main opposition, former Assemblywoman Marguerite Archie-Hudson, didn't figure to have as much money, but by securing the backing of L.A. Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, she was able to link her effort to the Assembly campaign of Herb Wesson, Burke's chief of staff. As a result, she was able to send out a slew of mailers, but one of them — implying an endorsement from Waters — wound up backfiring, as Waters sent out a personal letter denouncing the mailer. Murray, meanwhile, parlayed Waters' support, and his family's own well-regarded slate mailer, to a decisive, though not overwhelming, primary win. The primary victory was the hard part for Murray, as he'll have no trouble winning in November. But the victory was tempered by Wesson's victory in his Assembly seat, as it came at the expense of Murray's own chief of staff, Joey Hill. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 28 (51% D - 31% R)

Democrat: Debra Bowen of Marina del Rey. Republican: Asba Knott of Lake Forest.

Although registration in this oddball urban/beach district favors Democrats, the GOP has sniffed around these parts in the past, hoping for an opening should the ageless Ralph Dills



Bowen

run out of gas. He never did, but term limits opened the seat up. The problem for Republicans, however, was the obvious Democratic choice — Debra Bowen. As a three-term Assemblywoman representing the beach-side, GOP-leaning portion of the district, Bowen is accustomed to beating odds much longer than those she faces in this contest. Given her ability to keep her seat even as all about her are losing theirs, Bowen will likely face relatively little resistance as she glides across the hall. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 30 (65% D - 21% R)

Democrat: Martha Escutia of Commerce. Republican: John Robertson of South Gate. Libertarian: John McCready of Whittier.

It looked like the contest over Charles Calderon's vacated Senate seat might prove interesting, as the two nested Assembly members — Martha Escutia and Grace Napolitano — were circling each other in the early going. But when veteran Representative Esteban Torres announced his retirement, Napolitano changed gears, leaving the primary field open to Escutia. A win-win, as it turned out. Napolitano won a heated primary and is headed to Congress. Escutia won an uncontested primary, and will soon be moving over to the state Senate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

🔥 District 32 (52% D - 33% R)

Democrat: Joe Baca of Rialto. Republican: Eunice Ulloa of Chino. Libertarian: John Ballard of San Bernardino.

Ground zero in the California desert. This Senate race overlaps with two hot Assembly races in districts 61 and 62, plus the biennial GOP congressional game show called "Pin the Defeat on George Brown." Registration numbers look just awful for Republicans, but this



Baca



Ulloa

is, after all, the Inland Empire where Democrats are less than loyal. It also is the backyard playground for GOP Senate elections poobah Jim Brulte. Republicans have long coveted this district, and long boasted that it is theirs once Democrat Ruben Ayala passes from the scene. Ayala is termed out, and the Democratic mantle has fallen to Assemblyman Joe Baca. The Republican is Chino Mayor Eunice Ulloa. Early polls showed Baca with a commanding lead, thanks in part to an aggressive voter-registration campaign that added some 8,000 new names to Democratic rolls. But Republicans are grumbling about fraud and have challenged some registrations. That provides just a glimpse of the kind of campaign that is unfolding here — fierce, dirty and expensive. Estimates are that each side will chip in \$1 million. Ulloa, who began the campaign as the underdog, is virtually unknown outside Chino, which makes up about 10 percent of the district and where registration is evenly split between the parties. She began introducing herself on Labor Day, saturating cable TV with ads and dropping a mailer to GOP and non-Democratic households. She expects her TV buy to continue straight through to the election. Baca, on the other hand, is well known thanks to his tenure in the Assembly, where he served as president pro tem. Tea leaves from past elections indicate this is a true swing district; it has voted for both parties in statewide elections. Pete Wilson carried it by 26,000 votes in 1994. Bruce Herschensolin carried it over Barbara Boxer in the 1992 Senate race, as did Michael Huffington over Dianne Feinstein two years later. But Bill Clinton won big here in both 1992 and 1996, as did Feinstein in her first Senate campaign against John Seymour in 1992. Local endorsements are mixed, with both sides nailing down support from important law-enforcement associations. Baca, however, has not been the beneficiary of crossover support from

several prominent Republicans who in past elections have backed Ayala and local Congressman George Brown. TOSS UP

District 34 (43%D-40%R)

Democrat: Joseph Dunn of Laguna Niguel. Republican: Incumbent Rob Hurtt of Garden Grove.

In any other year, this one would be a slam dunk for Republicans. The

incumbent after all is millionaire businessman Rob Hurtt, co-founder of the Independent Business PAC and former Senate Republican leader, who has spent at least \$4 million of his own money this decade helping to elect Republican legislators. Hurtt hasn't had to sweat his own re-elections because of the weak Democratic registration in this Orange County seat, but that may not be the case this time. Democrats might be

strategic
thinking

Burson-Marsteller

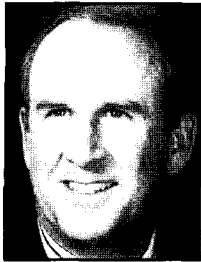
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Hurtt



Dunn

jazzed by the bruising congressional battle between Loretta Sanchez and Bob Dornan, plus the Assembly conflagration between Jim Morrissey and Lou Correa. Even Hurtt's Democratic opponent, attorney Joe Dunn, admits this one would be tough to win if it weren't for the nesting of the other races. But Dunn is serious about his challenge, having hired Democratic consultant Richie Ross to guide him through this first-ever run for public office. Dunn also enjoys the financial backing of the state's trial lawyers. Hurtt has been

criticized for ignoring the concerns of his district and not engaging himself as much as he should have while Senate GOP leader. Some insiders, in fact, wonder if Hurtt hasn't grown bored with politics altogether. But Hurtt is determined to win one more trip to Sacramento, having budgeted upwards of \$750,000 for his re-election. And even with the trouble Dornan may stir up for area Latinos, who make up over 40 percent of Hurtt's district, this is still an Orange County seat that has had no qualms before about re-electing a conservative by wide margins. **LEANS REPUBLICAN**

District 36 (36% D - 48% R)

Democrat: George Swift. Republican: Incumbent Ray Haynes. Both of Riverside.

The trial run for this race — the June blanket primary — saw Ray Haynes up by nearly 40,000 votes. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 38 (30% D - 50% R)

Democrat: Madelene Arakeliam of Irvine. Republican: Bill Morrow of Oceanside. Libertarian: Paul King of Oceanside. Natural Law: Barbara Blair of Solana Beach. Independent: Eugene Carl of San Marcos.

Assemblyman Bill Morrow moves across the building to the Senate side, thanks to term limits and the retirement of longtime legislator Bill Craven. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 40 (47% D - 36% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Steve Peace of Chula Vista. Republican: Bob Divine of La Mesa. Libertarian: David Graham of San Diego.

Voter-registration numbers in this corner of San Diego aren't all that impressive for Democrats, but that shouldn't slow down Democrat Steve Peace's re-election train. He'll win his final term in the Senate. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC** 🏠

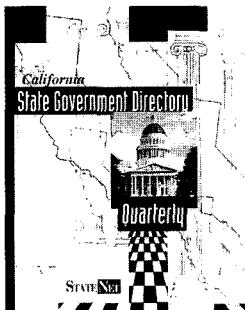
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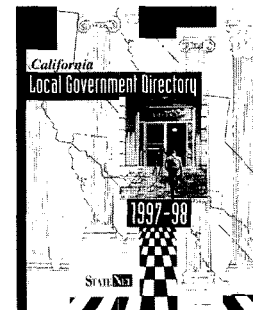
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Assembly



District 1 (50% D - 31% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Virginia Strom-Martin of Duncan Mills. Republican: Sara Crump of Sebastopol. Peace and Freedom: Pamela Elizondo of Laytonville.

Incumbent Virginia Strom-Martin appears to have made enough friends in this often hard-to-please district to land her a solid primary performance — 59 percent of the popular vote. And even though some environmentalists aren't thrilled with the final Headwaters deal that saves 7,500 acres of old-growth redwoods in Humboldt County, Strom-Martin can point to the \$15 million in state aid slated for the district (coupled with \$10 million in federal money) for economic offsets due to job and tax losses. Down by over 20,000 votes, Sebastopol City Councilman Sam Crump is a real long shot, especially considering the GOP hesitancy to give him a much-needed funding boost. So far the Republicans pitching their battles elsewhere. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 2 (39% D - 45% R)

Democrat: Francie Sullivan of Palo Cedro. Republican: Richard Dickerson of Redding. Libertarian: Pete Bret of Redding.

The race for this seat was settled in the primary. Sutter County Sheriff Art Brandwood received more votes than Democratic nominee Francie Sullivan, and he lost the Republican nomination. The Republican winner, former Shasta County Supervisor Richard Dickerson, will coast in November as the smooth-voiced Tom Woods calls it quits after four years to go back into the radio broadcasting biz. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 3 (38% D - 43% R)

Democrat: Scott Gruendl of Chico. Republican: Sam Aanestad of Grass Valley.

The departure of term-limited incumbent Bernie Richter incited a nasty primary battle featuring Richter's son-in-law and chief of staff David Reade versus oral surgeon Sam Aanestad. Aanestad won and now can coast against social-services administrator Scott Gruendl. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 4 (36% D - 47% R)

Democrat: Mark Norberg of Roseville. Republican: Incumbent Thomas "Rico" Oller of San Andreas. Libertarian: Robert "Bob" Mulvany of Murphys.

Incumbent Rico Oller parted with a pile of cash in the primary to stamp out El Dorado County Supervisor Ray Nutting, who cast himself as the moderate Republican's choice. Nutting and a handful of volunteers actively sought Democratic crossover votes in the new blanket primary and in the final tally didn't do too poorly considering Oller's forced last-minute advertising blitz. The assemblyman himself was out of circulation for much of the campaign while he recuperated from heart bypass surgery. Registration numbers ensure that the newly minted Oller (friends boast that he's emerged from his furlough healthy and several pounds lighter) won't strain himself through November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 5 (40% D - 44% R)

Democrat: Linda Davis. Republican: Dave Cox. Both of Fair Oaks. Libertarian: Gene Frazier of Sacramento.

Termed-out Assemblywoman Barbara Alby lost twice during the primary. First, Alby was upset by millionaire businessman Doug Ose in her bid to succeed Vic Fazio in Congress. On the same night, her hand-picked successor for her Assembly seat — Folsom businessman Sam Paredes — lost to moderate Sacramento County Supervisor Dave Cox. Cox is now focusing his electoral energy trying to boost Republican Chris Quackenbush in her Senate bid against Democrat Deborah Ortiz. District 5 is strongly Republican and comprises 60 percent of the voting population in the overlapping Senate district, which will be a partisan battleground in November. In this Assembly seat, however, Cox will cruise. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 6 (52% D - 29% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Kerry Mazzoni of San Rafael. Republican: Russ Weiner of Sausalito. Peace and Freedom: Coleman Persily of San Rafael.

Russ Weiner, the son of a San

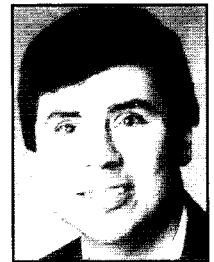
Francisco talk-radio host, has raised a relatively scant amount of money, and most of that has come from his family. That fact and a huge Democratic registration advantage point to a third term for Kerry Mazzoni. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 7 (53% D - 31% R)

Democrat: Patricia Wiggins of Santa Rosa. Republican: Bob Sanchez. Libertarian: Mike Rodrigues. Both of Napa. Peace and Freedom: Irv Sutley of Glen Ellen.



Wiggins



Sanchez

Republicans always talk about wanting to make a strong push in this district, even though the registration numbers are daunting. The GOP is still watching this race, though it may be on the back burner. In the primary, Santa Rosa Councilwoman Pat Wiggins upset the insiders' choice to succeed Valerie Brown — Brown's chief of staff John Latimer. Wiggins overcame the deep pockets of both Latimer and realtor Deborah Russell in one of June's closest primary elections. That bodes well for her in her race against Sanchez, a state Republican Party official who mustered only 27 percent of the vote in the blanket primary. Sanchez is certainly a longshot, but not completely off the radar screen yet. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 8 (50% D - 33% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Helen Thomson of Davis. Republican: Toni Thompson of Woodland.

This is another district in which Republicans thought they might make a run at a Democratic incumbent. But first-term Assemblywoman Helen Thomson's strong showing in the primary with more than 55 percent of the overall vote puts her further out of reach for November. Woodland plan-

ning commissioner Toni Thompson carries her party's banner into the fall campaign. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 9 (60% D - 23% R)

Democrat: Darrell Steinberg. Republican: Mike Dismukes. Both of Sacramento.

Sacramento City Councilman Darrell Steinberg outdistanced his nearest Democratic challenger better than 2-to-1 in a strong primary field. With registration nearly 3-to-1 in Democrats' favor, Steinberg can focus his attention elsewhere as the perfunctory election goes on around him. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 10 (43% D - 43% R)

Democrat: Debra Gravert of Elk Grove. Republican: Anthony Pescetti of Rancho Cordova. Libertarian: Tom Kohlbepp of Lodi.

Perhaps the most telling statistic in this district is the number of Republicans who ran in the primary. In all, nine members of the GOP entered the race to succeed human quote machine Larry Bowler. The eventual winner, former Sacramento Municipal Utility District board member Anthony Pescetti has high name recognition as well as some crossover support. He was one of the few Republicans to come out against Proposition 226 in June and was awarded in kind with labor support. His Democratic challenger, Debra Gravert, is chief of staff to Assembly Labor Committee Chairman Dick Floyd. But with Pescetti's broad-based support and the possibility of depressed Democratic voter turnout, the GOP still has the inside track. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 11 (53% D - 30% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Tom Torlakson of Martinez. Republican: Allen Payton of Antioch.

There were no Republican takers when formal candidate filing closed in this race, and it looked like Tom Torlakson would be unopposed. But Antioch City Councilman Allen Payton tossed his hat in as an 11th hour write-in candidate in the open primary and won the 1,000-plus votes he needed to be declared the GOP nominee. While he boasts the usual endorsement lineup and a local government ballot designation, Payton has yet to show anyone he's got the momentum to seriously sidetrack the incumbent in a

district with a 23-point Democratic registration edge. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 12 (58% D - 17% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Kevin Shelley. Republican: Mike Fitzgerald. Both of San Francisco.

As Assembly floor leader, freshman Kevin Shelley is among those carrying responsibility to make sure his party doesn't lose control of the Assembly in 1998. He knows of at least one seat that's in the bag — his. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 13 (62% D - 13% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Carole Migden. Republican: Randy Bernard. Both of San Francisco.

As she did in her unopposed 1996 cakewalk, energetic rookie Carole Migden will spend most of her campaign efforts helping other Democrats around the state. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 14 (68% D - 11% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Dion Aroner of Berkeley. Republican: Jerald Udinsky of Oakland.

First-term Dion Aroner will be headed back to the Assembly next year, but not necessarily because she wants to. Aroner came up just short of winning the Democratic nod in September's special election to fill the state Senate seat vacated by U.S. Representative Barbara Lee. Her narrow defeat can't be blamed on her support base in Berkeley, which came through in a big way. That same base will guarantee her return to the Assembly. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 15 (38% D - 46% R)

Democrat: Charles Brydon of Danville. Republican: Incumbent Lynne Leach of Walnut Creek. Libertarian: Duncan Wheat of Livermore.

This seat wouldn't even be close to the Democrats' radar screens had it not been for first-term Lynne Leach's unimpressive win in 1996. She actually lost to Democrat Gail Murray on Election Day and her victory wasn't secured until all the absentee votes were counted. But much of that result can be laid to circumstance — the Democratic cast of the year, an aggressive grass-roots-oriented opponent and the overlap of a heated congressional race. This time around, the dynamics favor a bigger Leach win. Assembly leadership might have thrown more weight behind col-

lege dean Charles Brydon if he'd shown some fund-raising strength of his own, but his July finance report showed total fund-raising this year at a puny \$6,100. Anything's possible, but in a non-presidential year, the smart money (and most of the not-so-smart money) is on Leach. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 16 (66% D - 14% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Don Perata of Alameda. Republican: Linda Marshall of Oakland.

He was nominated but did not run, and he'll be elected, but will not serve. First-term incumbent Don Perata spent his summer positioning himself to fill the state Senate seat vacated by U.S. Representative Barbara Lee. Since both that seat and this one are Democratic locks, Perata stands to win two elections this November. The last time that happened was in 1994 when, like Perata, Republican Richard Mountjoy won both his Assembly re-election and a state Senate special election. With the Assembly leadership hanging in the balance, Mountjoy stalled his installation in the Senate until he was kicked out of the Assembly in a vote engineered by former Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Perata holds out the possibility that he, too, might delay his transition if his vote is needed in an Assembly leadership fight, but barring a 40-40 split in the house, he says he would likely move over immediately. Meanwhile, several potential successors are already buzzing around, among them Alameda County supervisor Wilma Chin and outgoing Oakland Mayor Elihu Harris. Barring a protracted leadership fight, look for the special election to fill Perata's seat to happen sometime next spring. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 17 (50% D - 38% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Michael Machado of Stockton. Republican: Jay Smart of Manteca.

Any seat in the Central Valley is immediately in play for Republicans. But this is about as close to a sure thing as Democrats have in the region. After surviving a recall attempt in his first term, two-term Democrat Mike Machado polled an impressive 64 percent of the



Machado

June primary vote, and Manteca City Councilman Jay Smart's campaign organization never really got off the ground. MacAdo's numbers knock this race way down on the Republicans' target list. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 18 (58% D - 25% R)

Democrat: Ellen Corbett of San Leandro. Republican: Carol Nowicki of Castro Valley.

All of the noise in this heavily Democratic Alameda County district was in the primary, which featured three municipal officials from three different cities. Ultimately, the race boiled down to a fight between Ellen Corbett, the mayor of San Leandro, and Hayward City Councilman Bill Ward. Corbett's status as the only woman in the race and a mayor in a primary favoring experience won the day. With a 33-point Democratic registration edge, Corbett should have little trouble with Carol Nowicki, a Castro Valley attorney. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 19 (54% D - 28% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Lou Papan of Millbrae. Republican: Penny Ferguson of Pacifica. Libertarian: Steve Marsland of Pacifica.

If the Assembly winds up in a 40-40 tie and the speakership vote is deadlocked, the precedent established by former Speaker Willie Brown in the 1995 leadership fights states that the member with the most experience wields the gavel until a speaker is elected. And who will hold that distinction? The "new" Lou. Just a little something to think about. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 20 (48% D - 32% R)

Democrat: John Dutra. Republicans: Jonelle Zager. Both of Fremont.

The seat being vacated by upwardly mobile incumbent Liz Figueroa had action in both primaries, though the Democratic race wound up being less of a contest than first thought.



Dutra

John Dutra, an ex-Fremont City Councilman, faced an early challenge from water board member John Weed. But Weed eventually seemed to all but abandon his campaign. Republican

Jonelle Zager, who currently serves on the Fremont council, positioned herself as something of a moderate, and even opposed Proposition 226, the Pete Wilson-backed initiative restricting political uses of union dues. Zager and Dutra have a history with each other on the Fremont board, as both allies and adversaries. But Dutra boasts support from business and labor, as well as the local and state realtors, and figures to get more help from Figueroa if needed. He outpolled Zager by 8,000 votes in the open primary. But Zager has shown some fund-raising strength, and with Democratic registration under 50 percent, the GOP is keeping an eye on the contest. The numbers clearly favor Dutra, but this could be a race to watch. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

District 21 (48% D - 34% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Ted Lempert of San Carlos. Republican: Lavern Atherly of Redwood City. Natural Law: Marilyn Bryant of Palo Alto.

Former Contra Costa County Supervisor Ted Lempert isn't in the best of districts, but his support is rock solid, and he's in no danger. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 22 (48% D - 32% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Elaine Alquist of Santa Clara. Republican: Stan Kawczynski of Sunnyvale. Libertarian: Paul Rako of Sunnyvale. Natural Law: Rich Dunstan of San Jose.

Although Democratic registration is relatively weak, it's hard to imagine someone taking out first-term Elaine Alquist. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 23 (57% D - 23% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Mike Honda. Republican: Patrick DuLong. Both of San Jose.

Incumbent Mike Honda dispatched 1996 rival Patricia Martinez-Roach in this year's primary, and will focus most of his attention this fall on helping Asian Democratic candidates, notably George Nakano in the hotly contested 53rd Assembly District. Like most Bay Area Democrats, Honda's safe at home. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 24 (42% D - 32% R)

Democrat: Phil Stokes of Saratoga. Republican: Incumbent Jim Cunneen of Los Altos. Libertarian: Ray Strong of San Jose.

Two years ago, Democratic challenger Ed Foglia essentially dropped out of his challenge to first-term incumbent Jim Cunneen, only to drop back in again after



Cunneen

Cunneen pulled a surprisingly low vote total in the primary. Foglia lost, but Cunneen's low-octane performance in the primary has kept this seat on Democratic watch lists. Their challenges, however, are many. For one thing, Cunneen has worked his Silicon Valley constituents and is visible on high-tech issues. For another, the moderate incumbent is popular among Assembly Democrats — some see him as one of the few GOP members they can talk to without consulting an English-to-Adam-Smith translating dictionary. Then there is the Democratic candidate. College professor Phil Stokes has so far demonstrated little of the fund-raising potency he needs to bring his stock up with the guardians of the Assembly Democrats' caucus purse strings. Miracles can happen, but Cunneen looks awfully strong. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

District 25 (43% D - 43% R)

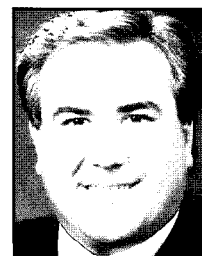
Democrat: Wesley Firsch of Oakdale. Republican: Incumbent George House of Hughson. Libertarian: Johnathan Zwickel of Madera. Reform: Leonard Surratt of Modesto.

Despite the registration numbers, ultra-conservative George House fits this district. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 26 (51% D - 34% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Dennis Cardoza of Atwater. Republican: Patricia Hollingsworth of Turlock. Libertarian: David Eaton of Merced. American Independent: Carl Towe of Ceres.

In spite of the fact that he is a member of Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa's leadership team, Dennis Cardoza may already be every Assembly Republican's favorite Democrat. A true, conservative Valleyocrat in the Gary



Cardoza

Condit mold, Cardoza was an effective advocate for his district in his first term, bringing home millions for a new University of California campus in Merced. After eking out a victory in 1996 by less than 100 votes, Cardoza pulled in more than 63 percent of the overall vote this fall. Still, Republicans just can't seem to walk away from this district. If the Clinton scandal has an impact in the fall, it's likely to play strongest in the Valley. Republicans are convinced they have a strong candidate in Patty Hollingsworth but privately worry she may be the right candidate at the wrong time. Hollingsworth, a former Deukmejian administration official, did not have an impressive trial run in June, and if she is going to get funding for her race this fall, she's going to have to prove she has a realistic chance of winning. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC**

District 27 (50% D - 29% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Fred Keeley of Boulder Creek. Republican: Phil Chavez of Pebble Beach. Libertarian: Dirk Walker Deardorff of Santa Cruz.

Assemblyman Fred Keeley is an example of the rapid ascension possible in the Legislature in the term-limits era. In his first term, Keeley became a member of Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa's inner circle and has emerged as one of the key Democrats on budget issues. With Villaraigosa set to leave office after next term, will a run at the speakership be in Keeley's future? While it may be too early to say, Keeley would have a much tougher time in that election than he will against his Republican opponent Phil Chavez this fall. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

District 28 (51% D - 32% R)

Democrat: Alan Styles of Salinas. Republican: Incumbent Peter Frusetta of Tres Pinos. Libertarian: Kate Woods of Paicines.

Peter Frusetta is like a persistent hangnail for Democrats. In their minds, he really shouldn't win a district with 51 percent Democratic registration, but they just can't seem to get rid of him. And though they will undoubtedly try again with Salinas Mayor Alan Styles, Frusetta's primary numbers indicate he



Frusetta

will be tough to beat. The cowboy-hatted Frusetta, who is known around Sacramento for giving quirky floor speeches about lesbian heifers and delivering oratories in Spanish, remains popular in his district. He enjoys strong support from the district's influential Portuguese community, which has demonstrated a willingness to play either side of the partisan fence to support one of their own. Styles' base is in the population center of the district, but he will have to find a way to energize that base if he hopes to pull off an upset in November. **LEANS REPUBLICAN**

District 29 (39% D - 47% R)

Republican: Mike Briggs of Fresno.

Democrats don't even have a candidate to face Fresno City Councilman Mike Briggs, who survived a four-way Republican contest in the June primary. But Briggs' record of pleading "no contest" to unlawful sex with a minor in 1986 had some Assembly Democrats threatening to pass a resolution that would prohibit Briggs from being seated in the Assembly. For now, that scuttlebutt has died down. But if the Democrats lose seats in November and there is a contested leadership fight *a la* 1994, don't be surprised if that talk resurfaces. In an election season in which morality and inappropriate sexual conduct are on the minds of voters, Democrats are quietly kicking themselves for not even having a candidate in this typically Republican district. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 30 (51% D - 35% R)

Democrat: Dean Florez of Shafter.

Republican: Incumbent Robert Prenter of Fresno.

If there is one Republican district Democrats feel they should have, it may be Robert Prenter's 30th. Prenter defeated GOP turncoat Brian Setencich in 1996 and remains at the top of the Democrats' target list this fall. But Governor Pete Wilson took good care of Prenter in this year's budget negotiations, delivering a treasure trove of pork to his district in the state's final spending plan. Never mind the fact that many Democrats genuinely like Prenter on a personal level. When it comes to politics, it's never personal, even when



Prenter

they spend a couple hundred thousand dollars against you. Prenter will be able to answer the assault with serious financial resources of his own. He expects to be on the air with television commercials in October. Democrat Dean Florez, a former legislative aide to Los Angeles Democrat Art Torres should be on the air soon afterward, regardless of Prenter's strong showing in the June primary. **TOSS-UP**

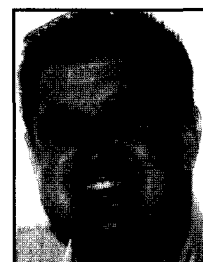
District 31 (55% D - 31% R)

Democrat: Sarah Reyes of Fresno.

Republican: David Jackson of Kingsburg.



Reyes



Jackson

Republicans strategists are the first to admit they have no business being competitive in this district. But this seat, vacated by former Speaker Cruz Bustamante, is near the top of the GOP target list for November. Its candidate, Kingsburg farmer David Jackson, has raised six figures on his own and has been promised additional resources from the Assembly Republican Caucus. Jackson, a former president of the Fresno County School Trustee Association, is being billed as a moderate alternative to a Democrat who is too liberal for the district. That Democrat is former television reporter Sarah Reyes, who has reportedly alienated many Democrats with some rough edges and an acid tongue. Still, the district has 57 percent Democratic registration and the seat is currently held by a Latino member, both good reasons to believe that Reyes will receive plenty of financial support this fall. Her primary showing was less than overwhelming with fewer than 50 percent of the overall vote, but that is unlikely to keep Democrats from pouring money into this race. **TOSS-UP**

District 32 (38% D - 49% R)

Democrat: Robert Tucker. Republican: Incumbent Roy Ashburn. Both of Bakersfield.

Assemblyman Roy Ashburn can spend his time raising money for

other candidates in his ongoing quest to climb the Assembly Republican leadership ladder. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 33 (39% D - 44% R)

Democrat: Betty Sanders of San Luis Obispo. Republican: Abel Maldonado of Santa Maria. Libertarian: David Bersohn of Arroyo Grande.

Santa Maria Mayor Abel Maldonado's victory in the June primary ensures that the Latino Republican caucus will at least double its membership next year. Maldonado, who proved his mettle as a prodigious fund raiser during the primary, should have little trouble against Democrat Betty Sanders. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 34 (36% D - 47% R)

Democrat: Steven Figueroa. Republican: Incumbent Keith Olberg. Both of Victorville. Libertarian: Jeffrey Laing of Tehachapi

No amount of Democratic firepower can blow Steven Figueroa past Keith Olberg, who will return to Sacramento for his final term. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 35 (44% D - 36% R)

Democrat: Hannah-Beth Jackson. Republican: Chris Mitchum. Both of Santa Barbara. Natural Law: Eric Sahl of Goleta.



Mitchum



Jackson

This one has all the makings of an expensive electoral shoot 'em up. Democrats view this seat as their best opportunity to pick up an open seat currently held by a Republican, but it is also a must-win for Republicans if they are going to retake control of the Assembly next year. This race pits actor Chris Mitchum, son of the late Robert Mitchum, against Santa Barbara attorney Hannah-Beth Jackson. Mitchum's acting experience could prove to be a valuable asset, since much of the race in this key, swing district is likely to play out on television, both in local media coverage

and paid advertisements. Mitchum is sure to hit Jackson for her cozy relationship and generous campaign contributions from trial lawyers, while Jackson paints Mitchum as a conservative political neophyte in a year where political experience has been an asset. Mitchum's only political experience is a six-year stint on the board of the Screen Actors Guild. He was hand picked by current NRA president and former SAG head Charlton Heston to run for the SAG seat and went on to serve two years as SAG's national first vice-president. On the stump, Mitchum invokes Heston and former co-star John Wayne, whom he credits with "showing him the meaning of political courage." Mitchum also invokes the name of his political role model, former district resident Ronald Reagan, in his campaign literature. Mitchum believes his libertarian philosophy is representative of this wealthy, coastal district spanning Ventura and Santa Barbara counties. Jackson, meanwhile, is running on her prosecutorial experience as a former deputy in the Santa Barbara district attorney's office, boasting endorsements from several law-enforcement groups in the district. In this coastal district where many of the Republicans are moderates, Jackson is casting herself as the pro-choice, pro-environment, tough-on-crime moderate in the mold of state Senator Jack O'Connell and former state Senator Gary Hart. Neither candidate should have a problem gaining resources for the race, one of the key battlegrounds in this election season. **TOSS UP**

District 36 (35% D - 49% R)

Democrat: Paula Calderon of Santa Clarita. Republican: Incumbent George Runner of Lancaster. Libertarian: Gregory Bashem of Lancaster.

Freshman George Runner's difficult 1996 primary is but a distant memory, and he impressed enough to be tapped as the Assembly GOP's representative on the important budget conference committee. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 37 (40% D - 42% R)

Democrat: Rosalind McGrath of Camarillo. Republican: Tony Strickland of Thousand Oaks. Reform: Michael Farris of Thousand Oaks.

If the *Seinfeld* television series ever

makes a comeback, the producers need go no further for material than the primary in this heavily Republican district. Like *Seinfeld*, the primary was enormously entertaining, and about nothing. Most of the entertainment was provided by former Wilson administration official Rich Sybert, a two-time congressional loser who sidled over to make a run at the seat vacated by termed-out Assemblyman Nao Takasugi. Sybert still managed to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory when he was videotaped vandalizing the campaign signs of Tony Strickland, his most visible opponent. Strickland, chief aide for maverick GOP bomb-thrower Tom McClintock, put the video into the hands of just about everyone with a broadcast license. Sybert never recovered from the embarrassment. Strickland should have no need for gonzo tactics in the general election. The only GOP worries: Strickland may be too conservative, and Democrat Roz McGrath had encouraging poll numbers. **LEANS REPUBLICAN**

District 38 (39% D - 44% R)

Republican: Incumbent Tom McClintock of Northridge.

Tom McClintock's neo-libertarian act is popular enough that he didn't even draw token Democratic opposition. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 39 (62% D - 22% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Tony Cardenas of Arleta. Libertarian: Kit Maira of North Hollywood.

Tony Cardenas' victory two years ago was the vanguard of an effort to mobilize growing Latino participation and direct it toward electing Latinos. His name is one of those mentioned as a possible candidate for the L.A. city council seat to be vacated as soon as current Councilman Richard Alarcon is elected to the 20th Senate District. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

District 40 (54% D - 28% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Bob Hertzberg of Van Nuys. Republicans: Eunice Deleuw of Van Nuys. Libertarian: Kelley Ross of Van Nuys.

Gregarious and influential, Bob Hertzberg is Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa's right hand, and is credited with helping to broker a number of compromises. Part of his strength lies in a virtually impenetrable district. **SAFE DEMOCRATIC**

District 41 (49% D - 34% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Sheila Kuehl of Santa Monica. Republican: Paul Jbin of Malibu. Peace and Freedom: John Honigsfeld of Malibu.

In a district that votes more Democratic than registration might suggest, two-term Sheila Kuehl is relatively secure. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

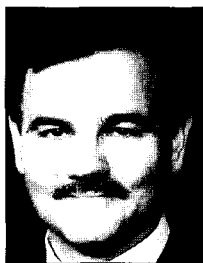
District 42 (57% D - 24% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Wally Knox. Republican: Kevin Davis. Peace and Freedom: Nancy Lawrence. All of Los Angeles.

As in past elections, Wally Knox will be centering his attention on election strategy elsewhere. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 43 (45% D - 37% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Scott Wildman of Los Angeles. Republican: Peter Repovich of Montrose. Libertarian: Daniel White of Burbank. Reform: Marie Buren of Toluca Lake.



Wildman



Repovich

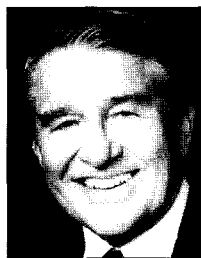
In a year where Republican prospects in the Legislature are strong, Peter Repovich is the GOP's least-favorite topic of discussion. While not necessarily the party's first choice to run in this Glendale-centered district, the 15-year veteran L.A.P.D. officer was nonetheless considered a formidable enough foe for first-term Scott Wildman and figured to occupy a prominent spot on the caucus target list. Within two months of the primary, however, things went south. First, the L.A. Police Protective League withdrew its endorsement of their colleague and bestowed it upon Wildman. A bigger bomb hit a week later. Repovich, it turned out, had been found guilty on five counts of sexual harassment of a female officer, and had been suspended from the force for 44 days in 1996 — one of the harshest punishments short of outright dismissal. News of the suspension caught the GOP leadership by surprise, as Repovich had privately denied ever being in-

volved in a sexual harassment case. In political circles, the one offense worse than a nasty skeleton in the closet is lying about it to your prospective benefactors, and they struck back. Incumbent Representative James Rogan, himself locked in a competitive reelection battle, withdrew his endorsement of Repovich. The Assembly Republicans pulled their political consultant and dropped Repovich to the bottom of their list. Not long after, it was revealed that Repovich had a second suspension, this one for rough handling of a shoplifting suspect during an arrest. Repovich's fall from grace is especially disappointing to the GOP, which believed Wildman could be had. The incumbent has been pretty much a "middle of the pack" guy in Sacramento, and drew the ire of friend and foe alike for his somewhat ham-handed chairmanship of the Joint Legislative Audit Committee. But Wildman improved on his 1996 showing in the open primary's test vote, and his campaign is aggressively registering new voters in a district that has been trending the Democrats' way for most of the 1990s. The demographics, and the aggressiveness of the Wildman campaign, would have made it an expensive race in any event. But now, Repovich will have to do all the work himself. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 44 (45% D - 40% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Jack Scott of Altadena. Republican: Ken LaCorte of Pasadena. Green: Shawn Waddell of Pasadena. Libertarian: Ken Saurenman of Pasadena. Reform: Philip Corvalan of Arcadia.

When Jack Scott challenged incumbent Republican Bill Hoge in this Pasadena-centered district two years ago, one of his calling cards with voters was a personal crisis which had drawn considerable local media attention — the accidental slaying of his 27-year-old son by a friend who had been showing off his shotgun. Scott made no secret of his desire for greater gun restrictions during his victorious 1996 campaign, and he's carried it through in the Legislature, authoring or supporting legislation to curb assault weapons and cheap



Scott

"Saturday Night Special" handguns. This year, Scott's personal tragedy is again getting attention, but this time he is not alone. When Republican Ken LaCorte was in grade school, his teenage sister and her boyfriend were shot to death while hiking in the Angeles National Forest. Libertarian Ken Saurenman also has a story to tell — his 20-year-old son committed suicide with his grandfather's rifle 11 years ago. LaCorte is viewed by the GOP as a more formidable challenge for Scott than incumbent Hoge was two years ago. A marketing manager for a medical supply company, LaCorte has gained notoriety for his use of the Internet to disseminate information about registered sex offenders made public under "Megan's Law." His fundraising has been decent, though the most recent report showed Scott with about \$100,000 more cash on hand. LaCorte has tried to paint Scott as an out-of-touch liberal and has attacked him for sending out too much district mail and taking "junkets" while president of Pasadena City College. But painting Scott as a scary extremist will be a tough sell. In addition to his affable Texas charm, Scott also has bona fides on the education issue and has positioned himself as independent of both parties through his backing of the state's open primary law. Moreover, he can be expected to send the "extremist" charge back across the net. A National Rifle Association member, LaCorte's campaign was buttressed during the primary by an NRA independent newspaper hit aimed at Scott. The incumbent can be expected to wear the NRA's scorn like a medal of honor, while LaCorte will have to prove he's not a "Johnny One Note." Scott will benefit from a strong unified effort in the area, pooling resources with congressional hopeful Barry Gordon and adjacent incumbent Scott Wildman. But LaCorte could benefit from the troubles faced by 43rd District hopeful GOP hopeful Peter Repovich, as resources that would have been devoted to that race may be diverted to help LaCorte. Incumbency and the region's shifting demographics give a slight edge to Scott at this point, but if a tide develops, he could be in trouble. TOSS-UP.

District 45 (62% D - 18% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Antonio Villaraigosa. Republican: Kitty Hedrick. Both of Los Angeles.

It's crunch time for Speaker Anto-

nio Villaraigosa, who must preserve a dangerously small Democratic majority if he is to remain in that post another term. During the summer, he shored up his caucus' strategic team by hiring consultant Darry Sragow, who shepherded the Democrats' reacquisition of the majority two years ago. But given that only a few thousand votes one way or another can spell the difference, his margin for error this November is small. No trouble in his own district, though. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 46 (65% D - 17% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Gil Cedillo. Republican: Andrew Kim. Both of Los Angeles.

An old friend of Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa, Gil Cedillo has a comfortable home in this urban district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 47 (72% D - 13% R)

Democrat: Herb Wesson of Culver City. Republican: Jonathan Leonard of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Eric Fine of Los Angeles.

The seat currently held by future state Senator Kevin Murray was the scene of a bruising expensive primary pitting Herb Wesson, the chief of staff to L.A. Supervisor Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, against Joey Hill, Murray's own chief of staff. Total spending in the contest approached \$1 million, much of it devoted to some nasty and controversial mail. In the end, Burke's reflected glory shone brighter than Murray's. The big spending in this contest ended with the primary, as Wesson is a lock to win in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 48 (82% D - 5% R)

Democrat: Rod Wright. Republican: Ernest Wood. Both of Los Angeles.

Despite getting in Dutch early on for manhandling a legislative staffer, Rod Wright got nine out of every 10 votes cast in the primary. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 49 (59% D - 23% R)

Democrat: Gloria Romero of Los Angeles. Republican: Jay Imperial of Rosemead. Libertarian: Rachel Brown of Alhambra.

Another bruising and expensive primary, this one to fill the seat being vacated by Insurance Commissioner candidate Diane Martinez. Although five Democrats ran, including Martinez'

sister Susie, the race was essentially between two fund-raising powerhouses — Latina psychologist Gloria Romero and Monterey Park Councilwoman Judy Chu. A prodigious fund raiser, Chu raised and spent upwards of \$300,000 in the race and mined the district's sizeable Asian concentration, drawing both Democratic and Republican votes in the open primary. But Romero was able to raise close to \$200,000 and had the advantage of having merged her campaign with the labor-backed grassroots effort against Proposition 226, the union dues initiative on the June ballot. Romero's organization appears to have won the day for her. Republican opposition in the general election is token. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 50 (68% D - 16% R)

Democrats: Marco Firebaugh of Los Angeles. Republican: Gladys Miller of South Gate.

Though he was the Latino Caucus' clear choice in one of the most heavily Latino districts in the state, lawyer Marco Firebaugh still had to sweat on primary night, and wound up winning by only about 1,000 votes. Three reasons are given for the lackluster performance — low turnout, the presence of a Latina city mayor (Elvira de Guzman) on the ballot and the un-Latino sound of his own last name. Still, the power behind him was enough to propel Firebaugh into the general, where he'll mop the floor with his token GOP opposition. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 51 (68% D - 16% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Ed Vincent of Inglewood. Republican: Robert Acherman of Los Angeles. Green: Rex Frankel of Los Angeles.

Ed Vincent is a pro-tobacco Democrat, but he'll suffer no consequences for it in this Democratic stronghold. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 52 (75% D - 10% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Carl Washington of Paramount.

No surprise that Carl Washington is unopposed. Who's going to take on a fresh-faced preacher? SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 53 (42% D - 40% R)

Democrats: George Nakano of Torrance. Republican: Bill Eggers of Redondo Beach.

Republicans have hungered for this



Nakano



Eggers

coastal swing district from the moment it was drawn, but their timing has always been off. In 1992, they nominated an ultra-conservative, against whom relative moderate Debra Bowen won a narrow victory. In 1994, they dropped the recruiting ball, only to have their under-funded challenger come surprisingly close. In 1996, their bid to put up a millionaire failed when a less-well-funded local government leader won the primary. Now comes 1998. Bowen is termed out and the seat is open. Still, the GOP has timing problems. The first choice of the leadership, local moderate Bill Beverly, failed to get together enough valid signatures on his filing papers. Democrats, figuring the seat was now theirs for the taking, waged a spirited primary in which all but two of the seven contestants had enough money and support to make an impact. The biggest spender in the field was Redondo Beach School Board President Zeke Zeidler, who blanketed the district with a dozen mailers. But the biggest name in the field was George Nakano, who serves on the Torrance City Council. Despite the best efforts of his many opponents, Nakano demolished all comers in Torrance, the district's largest city, winning not only Democrats but GOP cross-overs in the open primary. Nakano's muscular win in Torrance is the main reason Democrats believe the November election is his to lose. But despite the hiccup with Beverly, the GOP is nowhere near throwing in the towel. Their nominee, Reason Foundation researcher Bill Eggers, is, by all accounts, a conservative, but not the kind that usually shows up on *Crossfire*. Decidedly libertarian in his perspective, Eggers supports abortion rights and has an extensive environmental agenda. His endorsement list includes both maverick centrist Representative Tom Campbell and Orange County right-winger Dana Rohrabacher. His campaign also notes that Eggers took 55 percent of the independent vote in the primary, compared with Nakano's

13 percent. That could prove important in a district where nearly 14 percent of the electorate is "decline to state". Nakano, meanwhile, can be expected to point up the more extreme facets of Eggers' economic philosophy and his history working for the very right wing Heritage Foundation. Given Nakano's demonstrated strength in Torrance, Eggers will have to make up most of the difference in the beach cities, while finding a way to keep Nakano's vote down in Torrance. Moreover, as befits the GOP's chronic ill-timing in this district, they have a newcomer candidate running in a year where experience seems to be a more prized commodity. The early line still favors Nakano, but the Republicans believe it's their time, and they won't go away quietly. TOSS-UP

District 54 (45% D - 39% R)

Democrat: Alan Lowenthal of Long Beach. Republican: Julie Alban of Long Beach. American Independent: Phil Drake of Long Beach. Libertarian: Al Carlan of Rancho Palos Verdes.



Lowenthal



Alban

Democrats have sought this Long Beach-influenced swing district almost as ardently as Republicans have sought the adjacent 53rd, and their timing has been, by turns, good and bad. It was good in 1992, when Betty Karnette — now a state senator — surprised veteran GOP incumbent Gerald Felando. It was bad in 1994 when Republican Steve Kuykendall rode the GOP tide to a squeaker victory, and it was especially bad when, in a Democratic year, they nominated an openly lesbian liberal — a little too much for the moderate district to swallow. This year, Democrats have a solid contestant in Alan Lowenthal, a member of the Long Beach City Council. A psychology professor who serves as an alternate on the California Coastal Commission, Lowenthal is active on gun control and environmental issues, two good buttons to push in this moderate coastal

district. His council service also gives him pretty good name identification in the roughly 25 percent of the district that lies within Long Beach. His fund raising, while not overwhelming, was steady, and he emerged from the primary with about \$73,000 in the bank. But he also looks across the aisle at a formidable foe in Julie Alban, a city prosecutor with a story to tell. The wheelchair-bound Republican gained local notoriety after being shot and paralyzed by her then-boyfriend after refusing his marriage proposal. She has since earned national attention as a Horatio Alger story, having earned a law degree and become a victims rights advocate. Alban survived a surprisingly brutal four-way GOP primary on the strength of her name recognition and some \$450,000 in loans to the campaign — \$250,000 from herself and another \$200,000 from her father, local physician Sy Alban. As did her primary foes, Lowenthal can be expected to call attention to Alban's lack of experience, urging voters to look at what he's done, rather than who she is. But Alban's nomination presents a challenge for Democrats, who must find a way to bring down her numbers without being so harsh as to provoke a backlash. Alban's campaign has its ears tuned to anything that looks like it might be a dig at her disability, as primary foe Marilyn Lyon learned when an independent mailer designed to help her was excoriated for depicting a Trojan Horse on wheels. But Republicans see the candidate as their best asset — attractive, charming and capable of doing most of the heavy financial lifting herself. Kuykendall's relatively narrow victories in 1994 and 1996 argue against going too far out on a limb too early. But there are probably a few Republicans who, in their heart of hearts, believe their chances of holding the seat are better with Alban than they might have been with the departing incumbent. TOSS-UP

District 55 (66% D - 18% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Richard Floyd of Harbor City. Republican: Don Eslinger of Torrance. Libertarian: Guy Wilson of Carson.

A diverse urban district that will continue to be represented in Sacramento by a cranky white male. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 56 (51% D - 34% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Sally Havice of Cerritos. Republican: Phil Hawkins of Cerritos. Libertarian: Bruce McKenzie of Downey.



Havice



Hawkins

First-term Sally Havice is Number One on the GOP's November hit list, and therefore at the top of the Democrats' list of incumbents to defend. The race holds many attractions for the GOP. Despite the 14-point Democratic registration edge, the district has more of a blue-collar, Reagan Democrat cast to it. There are still many Republicans who believe the Assembly Republican leadership let this one get away by not pressing their attacks against Havice during a time in which her campaign was "dark" (not sending any mail). The GOP also sees Havice as a vulnerable candidate. She polled less than 50 percent of the total vote in the open primary — one of only two incumbents statewide to do so — and her total was four points behind Democratic registration. And on top of all that, their candidate, Phil Hawkins, held the seat himself for a term, and more than a few people in the district still think he's the incumbent. On the surface, a pretty bleak outlook for the Democrats, especially since there's no overlapping Senate race with which to pool resources, as there was in '96. But the cause is far from lost for Havice. While not the most well-liked member among her peers, Havice is an incumbent, which means she'll reap the benefits of caucus support that was denied her until the last three weeks of the '96 campaign. She also has a strong support structure in the district, and she and her staff have a stack of press clippings that show state money and attention coming into the district. Despite GOP revisionism, Hawkins is not all that strong as a candidate. He's lost two of the three races he's run in the area, and despite an unanswered primary mail program was still only able to secure 48 percent of the total vote himself. Havice forces also believe they

have a local issue against Hawkins in his co-authorship of a bill that exempted Downey Hospital from the state's open-meetings law. So far, Hawkins has shown the better organization. He's been sending about 25,000 pieces of narrowly-targeted mail a week since the beginning of August, doing nothing to discourage those who still may think he's the incumbent, since that's a good thing to be this year. But Havice is lining up some solid local endorsements, including the Long Beach Police Officers Association which backed Hawkins in his '96 Senate race. A bucket of money will be dropped in this race before it's through, and the final result will likely hinge on events that simply haven't happened yet. TOSS-UP

District 57 (56% D - 27% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Martin Gallegos of Montebello. Republican: Henry Gonzales of Hacienda Heights.

A smooth ride for Marty Gallegos, the Legislature's only licensed chiropractor. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 58 (63% D - 24% R)

Democrat: Tom Calderon of Montebello. Republican: Albert Nunez of Whittier.

Not much of a fight in the primary as Tom Calderon, the brother of termed-out state Senator Charles Calderon, rode strong support from the Latino Caucus to an easy primary victory. He'll have an even easier time of it in November and will take the seat vacated by soon-to-be Representative Grace Napolitano. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 59 (36% D - 45% R)

Democrat: Christian Christiansen of Covina. Republican: Incumbent Bob Margett of Arcadia. Libertarian: Jerry Johnson of Covina. Natural Law: Louise Allison of Claremont.

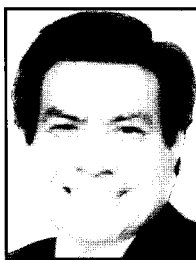
Hardly a ripple for low-key Bob Margett, who occupies one of the most Republican districts in all of Los Angeles County. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 60 (43% D - 40% R)

Democrat: Ben Wong of West Covina. Republican: Robert Pacheco of Walnut. Libertarian: Leland Faegre of West Covina.

Both Democrats and Republicans see the 60th as a district in transition — Republican registration has dropped nearly four points since 1992, and its

concentration of Latinos has been steadily on the rise. However, the two parties differ as to whether the transition has come far enough to elect a Democrat in the former GOP stronghold. Republicans still see the seat as theirs, as evidenced by the caliber of candidates who made a run in the GOP primary — three elected officials and Michael Radlovic, a wealthy local businessman and GOP party regular. Ultimately, the primary boiled down to a race between Radlovic and Bob Pacheco, who serves on the Walnut City Council. When Radlovic pumped a large chunk of his own money into the race, the 62-year-old Pacheco sat back and ran as the tortoise — slow and steady. But Pacheco was no tortoise. He wound up pumping more than \$200,000 of personal resources into the race, and won as the experienced choice in a year when experience mattered. But Democrats have their own take on the seat, believing the demographics have changed enough to merit more than a passing glance at the contest. Their uncontested choice, Ben Wong, is a West Covina city councilman. He's also done reasonably well in the money department, raising enough to hire front-line Democratic consultant Gale Kaufman to direct his effort. While the Asian vote is not as strong as it is in other nearby districts, Wong is seen as having good crossover appeal. But Pacheco's crossover potential is arguably even broader. Most of the demographic shift in the district has been the result of an influx of working- and middle-class Latinos. Assuming they register and vote, they might be induced to set aside their distaste for Republicans and cross over to vote for Pacheco. Wong will likely try to paint Pacheco as too far to the right on social issues. But given that the demographic shift is still emerging and that Democrats have plenty of battles shaping up elsewhere, Wong will likely be on his own for most of the race. Running against a Latino Republican with money, he's got his work cut out for him. LEANS REPUBLICAN.



Pacheco



DeMallie



Soto

For the past six years, this seat has been held by the ever-popular Fred Aguiar, a termed-out GOP moderate recently elected San Bernardino County supervisor, and Aguiar's departure has Democrats salivating over the chance to pick up another seat in the middle of the Republican-rich Inland Empire. The district itself was originally designed to be a minority enclave and as such is split between San Bernardino and Los Angeles counties. The Los Angeles portion — basically Pomona — is heavily Democratic. Unfortunately for Democrats, nearly 90 percent of the voters live in San Bernardino County where the GOP holds sway. Still, Democrats feel they have several advantages. The district as a whole is nearly 60 percent Latino, and the race pits a Democratic Latina against a Republican white male. The Democrat is Pomona Vice Mayor Nell Soto whose late husband, Phil, once represented the area in the Assembly. The Republican is a conservative, Cucamonga School Board member Bob DeMallie, who parlayed money and support from the likes of Howard Ahmanson Jr., Senators Ray Haynes and Richard Mountjoy and the NRA into a convincing primary win over better-known opponents. In this campaign, Soto was the first to drop mail, with her initial pieces hitting before Labor Day; DeMallie was close behind. The issues are strictly local: Soto will appeal to the region's growing number of Latino voters; DeMallie will highlight what Republicans claim are votes Soto made as a member of the Pomona council that were detrimental to San Bernardino County. Money is critical. Given his conservative allies, DeMallie should have no problem funding a full-blown campaign. Soto's treasury likely will depend on the largesse of Latinos in the Assembly Democratic caucus, who have better targets elsewhere. A prime reason they may not wade in with a lot of cash is the fact that Soto will have to run a near-perfect campaign to win. Democrats have never done particularly well

District 61 (45% D - 39% R)

Democrat: Nell Soto of Pomona. Republican: Bob DeMallie of Ontario.

here, even though Bill Clinton narrowly carried the district in 1992 and '96. But Kathleen Brown lost it big in 1994, as did Barbara Boxer in 1992. Even Dianne Feinstein lost it twice — including a 2-to-1 pasting by Michael Huffington in 1994. LEANS REPUBLICAN

District 62 (58% D - 28% R)

Democrat: John Longville of Rialto. Republican: Irma Escobar of Fontana.



Longville



Escobar

This district presents the flip side of District 61 and is attached to it at the hip. Here, the white male Democrat squares off against the GOP Latina in a district traditionally held by Democrats — most recently termed-out Joe Baca, now a candidate for the state Senate. Republicans plan to play here, although the registration numbers are far more daunting for the GOP here than they are for Democrats in the neighboring 61st. The race is complicated by the convergence of two hot Assembly races overlapping a hot Senate race overlapping a hot congressional race in CD 42. Democrat John Longville, who has lost several legislative races in the past, is well known thanks to his long tenure as mayor of Rialto. In addition, just as AD 61 voters want to elect Republicans, voters here mostly throw in with Democrats. Bill Clinton won here in 1996 by 2-to-1. Dianne Feinstein also won it in 1992 and 1994, as did Barbara Boxer in 1992. The only first-tier Democrat to lose here was Kathleen Brown in 1994, but she ran substantially better in AD 62 than she did statewide. Thus, it is estimated that Republican Irma Escobar will need as much as \$200,000 to win, and she has shown little propensity for raising that kind of cash. In large measure, her chances rest with Senate Republicans, who plan to throw a chunk of change into the SD 32 race. Her campaign organization and get-out-the-vote efforts will piggy-back with the effort to elect Chino Mayor Eunice Ulloa to the Senate. Assembly Republicans likely will come in heavily only at the last minute, and only if they

have resources left over after fighting battles elsewhere. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

District 63 (39% D - 46% R)

Republican: Incumbent Bill Leonard of Rancho Cucamonga. Libertarian: Maureen Lindberg of San Bernardino.

Bill Leonard, a 20-year legislative veteran, returns for his second term. How can a 20-year veteran only be in his second term? Because this is Leonard's second go-around in the Assembly; the first ran from 1978 to 1988, when he was elected to the state Senate. After being termed out in the upper house in 1996, Leonard returned to the Assembly where he is eligible for three more terms because his previous Assembly career ended before term limits came into play. Leonard serves as Assembly GOP leader, a position he likely will retain if Republicans can stay even or pick up seats. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 64 (42% D - 43% R)

Republican: Incumbent Rod Pacheco of Riverside.

In the film version of this race, the Democrat will be played by Claude Rains. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 65 (39% D - 46% R)

Democrat: Ray Quinto. Republican: Incumbent Brett Granlund. Both of Yucaipa. Natural Law: Ray Renteria of Rancho Cucamonga.

Two-term incumbent Brett Granlund should coast to his final Assembly term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 66 (32% D - 52% R)

Democrat: Patsy Hockersmith of Corona. Republican: Incumbent Bruce Thompson of Fallbrook.

Republican Bruce Thompson has twice defeated Democrat Patsy Hockersmith. Coming up: the hat trick. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 67 (33% D - 50% R)

Democrat: Marie Fennell of Huntington Beach. Republican: Incumbent Scott Baugh of Huntington Beach. Libertarian: Autumn Browne of Westminster.

Getting through the primary was the tough part, if that, for Scott Baugh, who fended off challenges from five Republicans. Baugh has been under a legal cloud since his first election in 1995, when he won the recall that unseated GOP renegade Doris Allen.

Allen was one of the five who ran in June. Now, all Baugh has to worry about is his upcoming court case stemming from campaign disclosure violations, which is scheduled for after the election. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 68 (39% D - 43% R)

Democrat: Mike Matsuda of Garden Grove. Republican: Ken Maddox of Garden Grove.

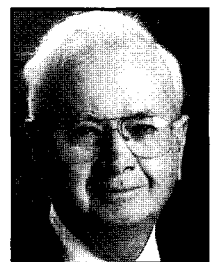
The real victory party has already been held for this seat, back in June, when Tustin police officer and Garden Grove Councilman Ken Maddox defeated four GOP opponents to capture the nomination. It wasn't easy for Maddox, even though he was the hand-picked choice of outgoing incumbent Curt Pringle, who is running for state treasurer because of term limits. Other Orange County lawmakers, including Senator Rob Hurtt and Assemblymen Jim Morrissey and Scott Baugh, decided to back attorney John Kellogg, who got himself censured by the local GOP central committee after dropping an out-of-bounds hit piece. Now, it's downhill to the Capitol against Democrat Mike Matsuda. SAFE REPUBLICAN

District 69 (51% D - 33% R)

Democrat: Lou Correa of Anaheim. Republican: Incumbent Jim Morrissey of Anaheim. Libertarian: Bolynda Schultz of Santa Ana. Reform: Jim Benson of Anaheim.



Correa



Morrissey

This one is a rematch from 1996, when Jim Morrissey won by only 93 votes over Latino businessman Lou Correa. Last time Morrissey outspent his opponent after Assembly Democrats chose not to fund Correa until the very end. That mistake will not repeated this time, as Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa intends to give Correa whatever he needs to take back this seat, which Democrats held until Tom Umberg ran for attorney general in 1994 and let Morrissey snatch it up. Both Morrissey and Assembly leader-

ship failed to anticipate the rise of local Latino voters in 1996, when Democrat Loretta Sanchez — whose seat overlaps the 69th — defeated Congressman Bob Dornan and helped galvanize Latino voters. Neither side is taking Latinos for granted, given that they make up 65 percent of district population and 35 percent of its registered voters. Democrats think they have the advantage in courting Latinos because of Correa's Mexican heritage. But Morrissey's dogged precinct walking has led him to 16,000 doorsteps at last count, including many in Latino neighborhoods, where he employs his rudimentary Spanish to address Latino households. Morrissey also has made a concerted effort to redefine himself as a more moderate Republican since his close call in '96. For instance, prior to last election, Morrissey could be counted on as a rock-steady conservative vote

in the Assembly GOP caucus while voting in favor of Proposition 187 — which ended services for illegal immigrants — and Proposition 209 — which ended state affirmative-action programs. Since then, Morrissey has supported a number of labor-backed bills, raising his AFL-CIO ranking from three percent to 53 percent, and opposed this year's anti-bilingual education initiative, Proposition 227. He also went out and hired a local *Democratic* consultant — Dennis Desnoo — to orchestrate his re-election effort, but whether that was a good idea remains to be seen since Desnoo has never run an Assembly campaign. Republicans believe Morrissey's strong showing in the open primary — 52 percent to Correa's 44 percent — is an indication of good things to come, but those numbers were helped by Morrissey's \$200,000

splurge on mailers in an uncontested primary to pump up his numbers. Correa, meanwhile, did almost nothing prior to the June election. Both candidates have an "X" factor to worry about. For Morrissey, it is Dornan, who's pursuing his old congressional seat, and the Latino-voter fraud baggage he brings for any Republican running in the area. For Correa, it is a possible depression in Democratic voter turnout, which ordinarily is a problem in off-year elections and may become exacerbated by President Clinton's sex scandal. Either way, this one will be expensive and a dogfight to the end. TOSS-UP

District 70 (28% D - 54% R)

Republican: Incumbent Marilyn Brewer of Newport Beach. Natural Law: Nat Adam of Irvine.

Marilyn Brewer has been raising

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barrels of cash — not for herself but her GOP colleagues in need, such as Jim Morrissey. All she'll need is enough to throw her third and final victory party. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 71 (27% D - 57% R)

Democrat: Martha Badger of Rancho Santa Margarita. Republican: Incumbent Bill Campbell of Orange. Natural Law: Brenda Bryant of Santa Ana.

Short of a sudden, mass migration of Republicans out of this most GOP of districts, this one is a lock for Bill Campbell. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 72 (31% D - 54% R)

Democrat: Frank Legas of Fullerton. Republican: Incumbent Dick Ackerman of Fullerton. Libertarian: Loren Meierding of Fullerton.

The only thing that's going to knock Dick Ackerman out of this seat are term limits, come 2000. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 73 (29% D - 52% R)

Democrat: Robert Wilberg of Capistrano Beach. Republican: Patricia Bates of Laguna Niguel. Libertarian: Donald Rollins of Oceanside. Natural Law: Matteo Ornati of Dana Point.

Laguna Niguel Mayor Patricia Bates won the right to succeed termed-out Bill Morrow in June after overcoming San Clemente Councilman Steve Apodaca and attorney Jim Lacy. She got a lot of help from the folks opposed to Conservative Attorneys for Civil Justice, a Republican-oriented group of trial lawyers that pumped \$80,000 into Lacy's campaign. As for the general election, Democrat Robert Wilberg has no illusions about who will win the race. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 74 (31% D - 49% R)

Democrat: William Fitzgerald of Solana Beach. Republican: Incumbent Howard Kaloogian of Encinitas. Libertarian: Stephen Dorsey of Carlsbad. Natural Law: Aditi Genitsch of Del Mar.

In San Diego, both near and far ... They think Kaloogian's a superstar ... But two years hence you'll see them pout ... When poor old Howard gets termed out. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 75 (30% D - 50% R)

Democrat: David Debus. Republican: Charlene Zettel. Both of San Diego. Libertarian: Donna Tello of Poway. Natural Law: William Cowling III of

San Diego.

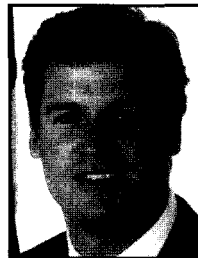
A \$1 million, three-way GOP primary produced an historic candidate to succeed termed-out incumbent Jan Goldsmith. This December, businesswoman Charlene Zettel will become the first Latina ever to serve on the Republican side of the Assembly aisle. Zettel, a pro-choice moderate with experience on the Poway Unified School Board, easily brushed aside a pair of conservatives — one of whom had heavy backing from the likes of Paul Gann's Citizens Committee, Gun Owners of California and a bevy of rightist legislators. Democrats just don't matter here. David Debus ran unopposed in June, and his vote total — just shy of 16,000 — barely inched ahead of the third-place Republican. **SAFE REPUBLICAN**

District 76 (41% D - 37% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Susan Davis. Republican: Duane Admire. Both of San Diego. Libertarian: Edward Teyssier of National City.



Davis



Admire

The conventional wisdom in blanket primaries — if such an animal exists — holds that incumbents who poll more than 50 percent of the overall vote likely will win re-election. Susan Davis polled 56 percent in this primary, even though Republicans held a spirited contest that was settled by less than 400 votes among 26,000 cast. For Davis, that was the first good news. The second: From a strategic standpoint, the weakest candidate won the GOP primary. Duane Admire is a Northern California transplant who has lived in the southland for little more than a year. A lawyer himself, he received backing in the primary from Republican trial lawyers, but any substantial support from that group likely will disappear in the fall. Not only that, but the conservative, pro-family Admire is a lesser version of the candidate Davis defeated in 1994 and 1996 — Bob Trettin — who, although too far to the right for the district, at least had roots in the area.

Finally, Admire may be hurt by the presence on the ballot of Libertarian Edward Teyssier, who could siphon away conservatives. Does that mean GOP strategists plan to let Davis ride? Hardly. Davis once again will sit in GOP crosshairs, if only to force her to spend her treasury at home and not give it to the caucus for use in more competitive districts. If Admire has any hope, it rests with his ability to gain name recognition — not for this race but for the year 2000. **LEANS DEMOCRATIC**

District 77 (39% D - 41% R)

Democrat: Margaret Carlson. Republican: Incumbent Steve Baldwin. Both of El Cajon. Libertarian: Elizabeth Meyers of San Diego.

Seems Steve Baldwin has been running for this seat forever. And, in the term-limit era, he has — having lost it once before winning in 1994. Term limits usher him out after this election, but for now the district is **SAFE REPUBLICAN**.

District 78 (38% D - 39% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Howard Wayne of San Diego. Republican: Jean Roesch of Coronado. Libertarian: John Murphy. Natural Law: Stuart Knoles. Both of San Diego.



Wayne



Roesch

Could this be the year? For all of the 1990s, Republicans have coveted this GOP-leaning district, but their efforts have been frustrated at every election — by Dede Alpert from 1990 to 1994, and by Howard Wayne in 1996. For a good chunk of the 1980s, it was Lucy Killea who stymied GOP ambitions in roughly the same area. The GOP problem — a series of flawed candidates who couldn't overcome a moderate, hard-working, straight-shooting female incumbent such as Killea or Alpert. Two years ago, after Alpert was elected to the Senate, Republicans thought the district finally was theirs because *they* put up the moderate, hard-working, straight-shooting female candidate,

while Democrats countered with Howard Wayne, an uncharismatic but tenacious white male deputy attorney general. But Republican Tricia Hunter, a former assemblywoman, was herself flawed; she carpetbagged into the district and once had touched a political third rail by voting against a tobacco tax meant to finance breast-cancer research. Wayne hammered both issues down Hunter's throat and also got a nice bump from Bill Clinton and Dede Alpert — both of whom were on the '96 ballot. Result: a slim four-point win. This time, however, the scenario is different. Wayne has a track record of his own in Sacramento, and Republicans plan to hit him for his lock-step votes with Assembly Democratic leadership. In addition, Alpert is not on the ballot to help generate energy and votes in the district. Finally, Wayne is one of the few incumbents statewide who did not poll 50 percent of the total primary vote. True, the primary contest in this district was on the GOP side, meaning that Republicans stayed in their own playground rather than crossing over. Still, his 47 percent was unimpressive, given

that Democratic turnout was higher than GOP turnout for the primary. Then, there is the result of that GOP primary: Another moderate, hard-working, straight-shooting female candidate. Jean Roesch, a 10-year veteran of the Coronado Unified School Board, comes out of the local education community in a year when education is one of the top issues of concern to voters. That helped her knock off a pair of conservative men in the primary. Although her electoral base — Coronado — encompasses less than 20 percent of the district, Roesch appeals more to the conservatives who went elsewhere in the primary than does Wayne. Her one problem may be Libertarian John Murphy, who could woo some of the conservatives that backed her opponents in June. Wayne, however, can't be underestimated. He is a hard-working campaigner who comes off as likeable and sincere. This will be a very expensive race, with both legislative caucuses prepared to fully fund their candidate. Republicans, especially, have placed this contest near the top of their hit list because if they can't win the 78th

with Roesch against Wayne, they will never win it. TOSS-UP

District 79 (55% D - 23% R)

Democrat: Incumbent Denise Ducheny of San Diego. Republican: Carl Kinz of Chula Vista.

Assemblywoman Denise Ducheny, seeking her third and final Assembly term, has only one worry: Will she return to Sacramento to find someone else chairing the budget committee? SAFE DEMOCRATIC

District 80 (46% D - 40% R)

Democrat: Joey Acuna Jr. of Indio. Republican: Incumbent Jim Battin. Libertarian: Susan Weber. Both of Palm Desert.

Prior to the primary, Democrats may have given thought to a run at two-term incumbent Jim Battin. After all, Dems held the district prior to 1994. But Battin polled 58 percent of the overall vote in June in what amounted to a trial run for November. Unless Democrats have more money than Bill Gates, they likely won't play here. SAFE REPUBLICAN

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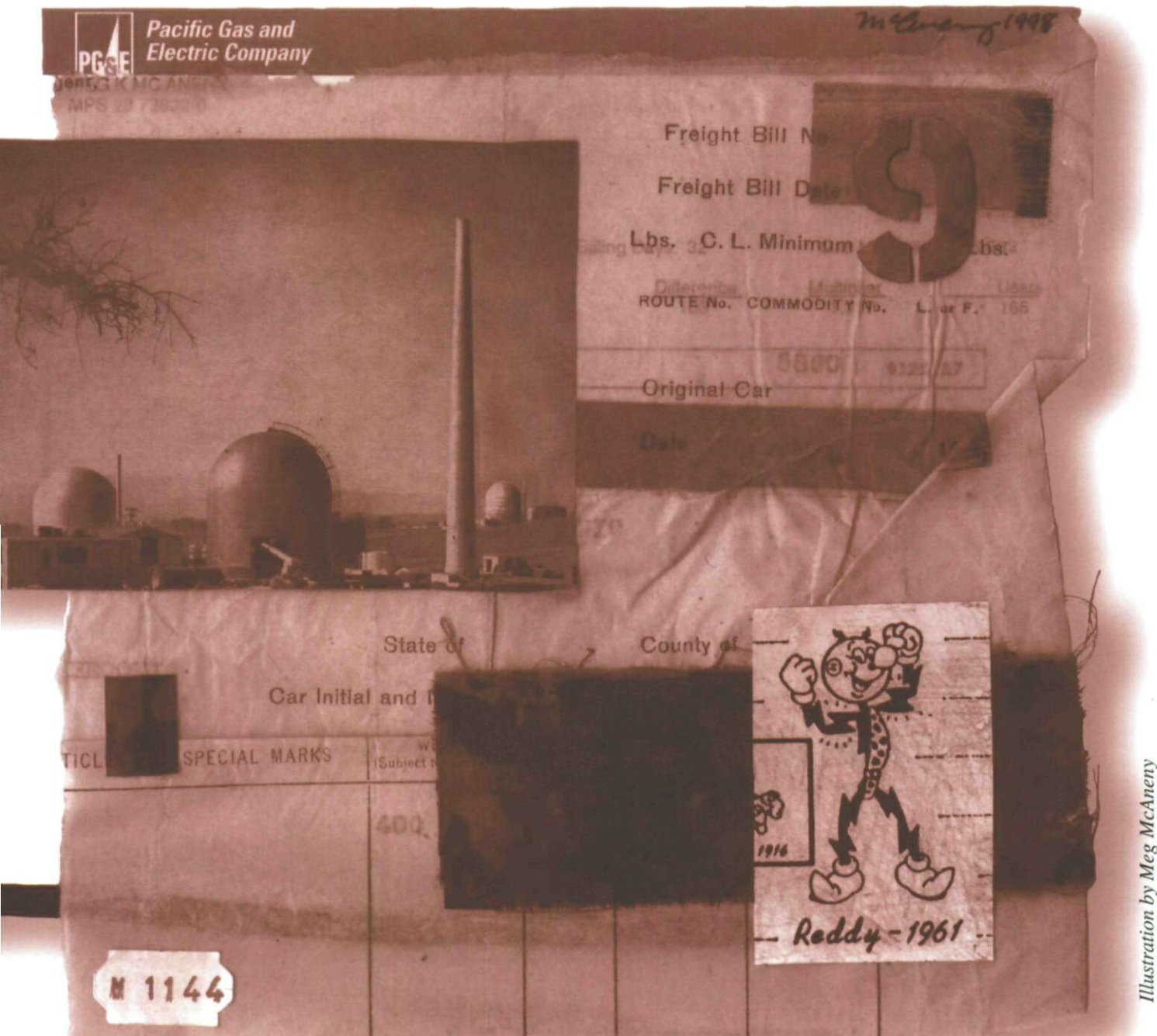


Illustration by Meg McAnery

In an aging building a few blocks away from the state Capitol toils a shadow lobbying corps. Representing an array of labor, environmental, consumer, social service and children's organizations, these lobbyists fight what they consider the "good fight," pushing against what they see as conservative intrusions on the social and environmental

"safety net." Adopting the premise that there is strength in numbers, they often coordinate their efforts, appearing together so often some refer to them as "the usual suspects."

This year, the "usual suspects" have reason to suspect each other. A nearly united front of consumer groups, including organizations such as Consumers Union and the Proposition 103 Enforcement Project, have lined up across

the battle lines against groups that are normally their comrades-in-arms — environmentalists, organized labor, even some civil rights groups. The catalyst for this nascent civil war is Proposition 9, the in-your-face ballot initiative rolling back portions of California's massive electricity deregulation law.

The seeds of this discord lie in the "evil" Proposition 9 seeks to undo — the 1996 electricity deregulation law, AB 1890. Pushed through the Legislature at the urging of the business community and the state's three largest utilities, AB 1890 instituted a completely new scheme for providing power, one that allowed companies to compete with each other for customers. To gain the backing of two key environmental groups — the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Environmental Defense Fund, AB 1890's sponsors included subsidies for "green" power — solar energy, wind energy, etc. In return, NRDC and EDF accepted the measure's most expensive provision: a \$28 billion mechanism by which ratepayers would finance the payoff of bad investments by the large utilities, notably nuclear power plants.

Not long after the legislation was signed by Governor Pete Wilson, consumer groups loudly denounced the deal as a sellout to the large utilities. In particular, they disliked the provision allowing for the buyout of nuclear power and a rate freeze which they viewed as a means of locking in power rates that were 50 percent higher than the national average. TURN, which had originally been neutral on AB 1890, joined forces with Consumers Union to draft what became Propo-

sition 9. Fearing the loss of their green power gains, EDF and NRDC opposed the initiative.

The battle was joined.

Proposition 9 co-author Harvey Rosenfield is, by most accounts, the straw stirring this particular drink. Rosenfield accuses NRDC, EDF and the insider-oriented Planning and Conservation League to be nothing less than "sellouts" for supporting AB 1890. "My own view is ... that these are the corporate environmentalists," said Rosenfield of NRDC and EDF, whose opposition is referenced in the ballot arguments against Proposition 9. Rosenfield and other initiative backers fault these groups for their willingness to accept AB 1890's provision allowing large investor-owned utilities to bill ratepayers for the cost of paying off nuclear power plants. Rosenfield believes EDF and NRDC accepted the legislative deal to preserve subsidies for renewable energy sources, which are also considered high-cost "uneconomic" assets. By doing so, they argue, the groups help guarantee that nuclear power plants will remain on line.

"This is fully funding the nuclear power producers," said Joe Therrian with the Public Media Center, which helped finance Proposition 9's signature-gathering effort.

Environmental groups downplay the intensity of the rift — EDF Senior Counsel Dan Kirshner calls it "a respectful disagreement." But they strenuously reject the suggestion that their support of the original measure contributes to the perpetuation of nuclear power. Kirshner insists the measure actually forces nuclear power plants to compete alongside other less expensive and more efficient energy sources.

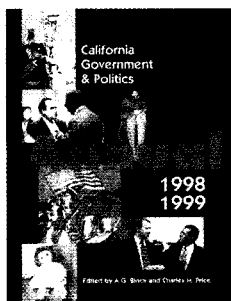
"I still consider [closure of nuclear plants] a 50-50 shot," said Kirshner. "That's a 50 percent improvement [for nuclear power opponents]."

Kirshner also rejects Rosenfield's suggestion that the environmental groups aren't concerned about ratepayers, saying proponents of green energy always envisioned that it would be priced at a premium in the short run. "Our program of deregulation is to let those customers who are interested in buying cleaner green energy pay the freight," said Kirshner.

Although mainstream groups like EDF hold considerable sway with environmentally minded voters, the environmental community is far from united in opposition to Proposition 9. Backers tout support from, among others, David Brower, the co-founder of Friends of the Earth. Even Kirshner says that a primary motivation for his group's opposition is its belief that, as full participants in the AB 1890 negotiations, it is honor-bound to stick with the deal. Groups not involved with the deal, such as the Sierra Club, have so far adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

The split between environmentalists and their consumer allies has been an early advantage for Proposition 9's opponents. Early radio and television commercials play up the fact that business and environmental groups — normally at odds in Sacramento — have united in their rejection of the initiative. Some environmental leaders privately express discomfort at being used as political cover for a campaign funded almost entirely by the state's three largest investor-owned utilities.

But more disquieting to some observing the dispute is the long-term effect it will have on cooperation between consumer and environmental groups. The discord over Proposition 9 is only the latest in a series of rifts within the loose coalition of "progressive" activist groups. The 1996



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ballot saw initiative splits over campaign finance reform (Propositions 208 and 212) and HMO reform (Propositions 214 and 216). "The last few elections have not been a good track record for progressive organizations showing they can work well together," said Jim Schultz, director of the San Francisco-based Democracy Center. Schultz, who has ties to both sides in the conflict, says the dispute is not so much between consumer and save-the-planet groups, but within the environmental community itself.

"In the environmental movement, there's always been a split between the groups that play the policy game in a very establishment way, and those that are much more call it as they see it," said Schultz. "What's going on here is really a

divide in the environmental community among good people, with the consumer groups united behind the initiative."

Schultz says he expects most of the environmental community to come down in favor of Proposition 9, if for no other reason than its rollback of the deregulation bill's nuclear provisions. But he also suspects the campaign will make it that much tougher for groups like NRDC to make peace with the Harvey Rosenfelds of the world.

"The dilemma here is that there really is no one figure or organization that has the clout to really bring people together and force a little civility and collaboration," said Schultz. "So what happens is people sort of start spinning off. I hope that won't happen here." 🏠

Legislature adds massive school bond, revenue-sharing questions to the ballot

Proposition 1A: \$9.2 billion for schools

Background: The Legislature's most contentious fight this year was over school bonds. After a couple of failed attempts to place a bond measure on the June ballot, the Legislature finally closed ranks on a \$9.2 billion dollar bond proposal, the largest in state history. Amid cries from the left that the deal is a sellout to developers and cries from the right that the bond is too large, the future of the measure now rests in the hands of voters.

Proposal: Proposition 1A is a \$9.2 billion bond issue which will provide funding to repair aging schools, upgrade technology with Internet connections, build new schools and reduce class sizes. The measure outlines a formula in which states will provide up to 50 percent of the funding for new school construction, and up to 80 percent for modernization in the neediest districts. The rest of the money must be raised by local governments. Meanwhile, developers' fees will be capped at \$1.93 per square foot and local governments will be stripped — for eight years — of the right to say "no" to new developments because nearby schools can't accommodate added enrollment.

Arguments For: Education groups estimate the money needed for new school construction and repair is close to \$45 billion statewide. This money, they argue, is long overdue to correct problems of overcrowding and deteriorating schools. Developers, meanwhile, say the cap on their fees will help bring down costs for first-time homebuyers, although the deal does not include guarantees for this to happen.

Arguments Against: Opponents of the bond worry California's credit rating may be downgraded as a result of taking on \$9.2 billion in new debt. The measure is the largest bond in state history, and opponents argue that assuming this much debt as the economy treads closer to perilous waters is unwise economic policy.

Proposition 11: Revenue-sharing for local governments

Background: This measure is more fallout from Proposition 13, limited local governments' ability to raise property taxes, making them more dependent on sales tax revenue. This has often pitted neighboring cities and counties against each other, engaging in bidding wars to attract large sales tax generators such as auto malls and large discount stores. By permitting neighboring local governments to enter into revenue-sharing contracts, the initiative's sponsors hope to alleviate tensions between bordering cities and counties. The measure was introduced by Assemblyman George Runner, a former mayor of the City of Lancaster, who ran into some of these problems during his time in local government.

Proposal: Proposition 11 is a constitutional amendment that authorizes local governments to voluntarily enter into sales tax revenue sharing agreements, if two-thirds of the elected members of those two local governments agree.

Arguments For: Local government advocates in the Legislature hope this measure will help reverse the trend of cities tripping over themselves to pander to large businesses. They say the measure will return fiscal responsibility to the locals, while protecting small business owners and local taxpayers from what they call "a few irresponsible corporations."

Arguments Against: Opponents of the measure argue local governments already have the power to enter into these revenue-sharing agreements, with the caveat that voters in both jurisdictions give their consent. By stripping voters of their veto power and handing that authority to the local governments, opponents call the measure undemocratic. 🏠

Washington Notes

perspective

by Marc Sandalow

Campaigning in The Age of Monica

In normal times, Washington's political intelligentsia would be intrigued by the political implications of California's neck-and-neck race for the United States Senate. Has Barbara Boxer sufficiently tempered her liberalism? Can Matt Fong tap into Boxer's Bay Area base and become among the first Chinese-American to serve in the Senate? Is there any political potency left from the "year of the woman?"

But this, the Age of Monica, is anything but normal.

Pundits spend time searching for inoffensive ways to say "semen" on national television. MSNBC has had the "White House in Crisis" for eight months and counting. The line between Rivera and reality becomes fainter as *The Drudge Report* is publicly denounced as a source of journalistic embarrassment, and privately devoured as a source of scurrilous tidbits.

To live in Washington today is to be consumed by scandal. The political culture has been eclipsed by a voyeuristic sex watch. The crude horse-race analyses of campaigns — considered low-brow one election cycle ago — are suddenly the high end of the political discourse, delightfully free of references to cigars and navy blue dresses.

It is through this lens that the nation observes California's election.

Gone is the curiosity about the West Coast as a barometer of public opinion on immigration, affirmative action or the use of union dues for political purposes. The political establishment is stuck on what the president's libido means for California's incumbent senator, and whether Clinton's most cherished and loyal political base will stand by him during his time of weakness.

As the crisp autumn air replaces the beastly summer heat, the conventional wisdom is that Clinton's dalliance with a 20-something intern will cost Boxer her Senate seat. Boxer, so the argument goes, a fierce defender of women, who earned her stripes going after accused sexual oppressors Clarence Thomas and Bob Packwood, is caught in a horrible hypocrisy by defending President Clinton.

"She has one standard for her friends; another for her political opponents," Matt Fong, her current rival, told reporters in Washington in mid-September. Fong says that voters will come to see this in Boxer, who was once described by Bob Dole as "the most partisan member of the Senate."

It is dangerous to write Boxer off before she has truly engaged — both in full-time personal appearances and statewide television commercials. But if the conventional wisdom has reached the right conclusion, it is almost certainly for the wrong reason. It is true that if consistency were a prerequisite for higher office, Boxer's seat could be in grave danger. But voters — who, unlike members of the

political class, are not nearly so obsessed with the president's lies — are unlikely to punish Boxer for her position, which has evolved from silence to measured condemnation.

It makes little sense, Boxer herself says, for those who agree with her on abortion, gun control and the environment, to say "I'm going to vote for Matt Fong because I am angry at Bill Clinton. It's illogical."

Boxer is right. And for most voters, her response to the episode is beside the point. Had she led the crusade for Clinton's head, her standing in the polls would hardly be any stronger.

The Clinton matter, which has the electorate sighing a collective "yechhh," will only depress turnout, particularly among independent women who formed the base for Boxer's victory in 1992. In a race that could be decided by fewer than a million votes, Boxer is in danger of becoming the most visible casualty of the president's escapades.

It is for the same reason that the Democrats' hopes for regaining control of the House have faded faster than a stain on a cocktail dress. When the summer began, Democrats said they had a 50-50 chance of winning the 11 seats needed to win back the majority. As fall begins, hopes of retaking the House have been replaced by fears of losing five seats in the Senate and handing the Republicans a filibuster-proof majority.

There is a curious footnote to the Republicans' fantasies. The president's popularity remains high, especially in the West. In mid-September, after eight months of sex, lies and videotapes, Clinton's approval rating still is higher than House Speaker Newt Gingrich.

And so, candidates such as Fong and Dan Lungren have thus far been quite cautious to aim their most venomous barbs at their opponents, not the president. Yes, Fong told reporters in Washington, the president has "disgraced his office" and "dragged public discourse into the gutter." But should he resign?

"If he knows the charges are true," Fong said, careful not to step too far out on a limb, "he should seriously consider resigning."

The same week, Lungren met with reporters to attack Gray Davis for his political alliance with Clinton, but when asked straightforwardly "Should Clinton resign?" he suggested and implied, but refused to say, "yes."

In these surreal times in the nation's capital, no one should worry that California politics are being overlooked. Already the dinner crowd set has begun discussing who would make a logical choice for vice-president if Al Gore ascends to the top job. And Senator Dianne Feinstein is on everyone's list. 🏠

Marc Sandalow is Washington, D.C., bureau chief for the San Francisco Chronicle.

Rostrum

letters

Greening

In response to your article “The Greening of Corporate California” (see *CJ*, September 1998), I would like to point out that MTBE has been used since the 1970s — by numerous companies — as a gasoline additive. MTBE has been a cost-effective part of an overall gasoline reformulation that has cut automobile emissions by 30 percent. MTBE is uniquely able to reduce emissions of carbon monoxide and toxics while preserving essential qualities of gasoline, such as octane.

By viewing the choice to use MTBE through the lens of The Natural Step, the *Journal* appears to imply that there was a more ideal solution that the oil companies missed. In fact, during the summer, use of MTBE is the only practical way to comply with both federal and California fuel specifications. Given the alternatives for the balance of the year — choosing a less energy-efficient oxygenate, using one that is more expensive for consumers, or doing nothing to reduce carbon monoxide — MTBE still is the best value in achieving the multiple goals of fuel reformulation.

Like other gasoline makers, ARCO does not believe MTBE or any other gasoline component should be allowed to leak from underground storage tanks. Industry compliance with the December 1998 deadline to upgrade all retail storage tanks to new federal standards should minimize gasoline leaks in the future. ARCO supports research in California and elsewhere to quickly remove MTBE from affected sites and is working to ensure that underground tank upgrades will be as effective as possible in preventing all gasoline leaks.

THOMAS A. MARKIN
Manager, External Affairs
ARCO Products Company

In your article “The Greening of Corporate California,” certain perspectives were attributed to me which I do

not embrace. Specifically, you quote me as criticizing ARCO’s environmental strategy in relation to the MTBE problem. However, any reference to ARCO and its reformulated gasoline were yours, not mine. The reference is troubling because it misrepresents our and The Natural Step’s approach to working with organizations. The Natural Step model is a framework of scientifically based principles that can be used as a compass so that policy makers, the public, business and academia can work together for a more sustainable future. Our consensus-based approach is every bit as important as the model’s scientific underpinnings. We, therefore, do not blame or judge individuals or companies.

SUSAN BURNS
President
Natural Strategies

Latinos and Jews

As Cesar Chavez’ long-time press secretary and aide, let me fill in an important omission in your article on Jewish-Latino relations in Los Angeles (see *CJ*, September 1998). It concerns the lack of a “shared history” between Jews and Latinos that led a Jewish leader to observe that the two groups share “no battles, no stories, no long relationships, no romances, no familiarity.”

The article mentions “a Jewish-Latino political alliance” that helped elect Ed Roybal to the Los Angeles City Council in 1949 but didn’t finish the story. Roybal’s victory was a triumph for the Community Service Organization, a civic action-civil rights group sponsored by Saul Alinsky’s Chicago-based Industrial Areas Foundation and established by community organizer Fred Ross. While building a CSO chapter in the San Jose barrio in 1952, Ross discovered and began training a 25-year-old Latino laboring in nearby apri-

cot orchards — Cesar Chavez. Ross and Chavez, who later became the group’s staff director, went on to set up 22 CSO chapters across the state in the 1950s. In its day, the CSO was the nation’s largest and most militant Latino civil-rights organization.

Chavez’ ties to the Jewish community dated from his CSO years. They included Alinsky, some wealthy LA Jewish businessmen who were CSO benefactors and Ralph Helstein, head of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, which financed Chavez’ first organizing among farm workers during a 1958 campaign in Ventura County against the bracero farm-labor program.

Chavez left CSO in 1962 to found the United Farm Workers. Religious groups offered early support for Chavez’ UFW boycotts, but the first institutional backing came when boards of rabbis in East Coast cities declared grapes and other boycotted products non-Kosher. Over the years, Chavez carefully courted significant Jewish support for the farm workers’ cause. He repeatedly spoke to large Jewish congregations across the country and addressed prominent Jewish organizations. From its earliest years, Chavez’ union was championed by Jews who were leading figures in labor, politics and entertainment. Thousands of Jews have consistently been among the UFW’s financial contributors. Many served over the years on the UFW staff. The first of five official union “martyrs” — men and women killed during strikes — was Nan Freeman, a 19-year-old college student who died on a UFW picket line in Florida in 1972.

For more than 30 years, Jews have worked in farm-worker efforts alongside Latinos in California and across the country. Since Cesar Chavez’ time, the UFW has numbered among its political allies in Los Angeles names such as Berman, Waxman and Yaroslavsky — as well as Alatorre, Polanco and Torres.

MARC GROSSMAN
United Farm Workers

State of the State

commentary

by Lance Izumi

Disassimilation

Perhaps the biggest non-issue this campaign season has been immigration. Not because it's unimportant, but because candidates, especially Republicans worried about the Hispanic vote, don't want to talk about it.

If immigration is discussed at all, the focus usually is on the supposed economic benefits of today's unprecedented immigration wave (nearly one million legal immigrants and more than a quarter-million illegal immigrants per year). For example, a recent article in a leading national conservative publication highlighted expanding Hispanic entrepreneurship, noting that "Hispanics now own 1.3 million U.S. businesses generating more than \$200 billion in annual revenues," with one-sixth of those businesses located in Los Angeles County.

Why, then, do polls show Americans favoring, by large margins, cuts in immigration? One reason, no doubt, involves the distribution of government benefits. According to Harvard economist George Borjas, census reports show that, whereas in 1970 immigrant households were less likely than native-born households to receive government cash assistance such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, by 1990 they were more likely to receive such aid. Borjas says that increased welfare use by immigrants is due to the 1965 change in federal immigration law that allowed less skilled and educated immigrants to enter the U.S.

Citizens, though, are probably more concerned with the fundamental question of whether immigrants are assimilating into American society. When Americans see the spectacle (as occurred earlier this year) of a mostly immigrant crowd of 90,000 in Los Angeles jeering the U.S. soccer team and booing the playing of the "Star Spangled Banner," many conclude that there has been a short circuit in the assimilation process.

They're right.

California State University, Hayward anthropology professor Glynn Custred, co-author of Proposition 209, has written that in any nation "members must collectively imagine what holds them together, as against the many conflicting interests pulling them apart." These collective images include "shared meanings, myths, and values conveyed in a common language, realized in national symbols, and supported by formal institutions, especially public education." Because a nation is as much a cultural as a political community, says Custred, "the greater the cultural consensus, the more effective the political process and the more stable the social order."

Mass immigration and wrong-headed government policies, unfortunately, have shredded this collective imagining and cultural consensus. In a recent *Washington Post* article entitled "Immigrants Shunning Idea of Assimilation," *Post*

reporter William Branigin found: "Not only are the demographics of the United States changing in profound and unprecedented ways, but so too are the very notions of assimilation and the melting pot that have been articles of faith in the American self-image for generations. *E Pluribus Unum* (from many, one) remains the national motto, but there no longer seems to be a consensus about what that should mean." According to Branigin, factors such as emphasis on multiculturalism, the huge immigrant concentrations in certain states, and immigrants' close proximity to their native lands combine to "allow immigrants to resist, if they choose, the Americanization that had once been considered irresistible."

Others have made similar observations. Former *New York Post* editor Scott McConnell points out: "In Los Angeles, immigrant neighborhoods that were once stepping stones into the broader United States are being 're-Mexicanized' ... by a continuing flow of new immigrants, as long-established Mexican-American residents are forced to adapt to the newcomers." Stanford history professor David Kennedy says that the large numbers of immigrants from Mexico, concentrated mostly in the American Southwest, allow Mexican Americans to "perpetuate themselves as a separate community and even strengthens their sense of separateness if they chose to, or felt compelled to." The Los Angeles soccer crowd's vocal separateness, therefore, wasn't an anomaly but a symptom of a growing national dysfunction.

This troubling situation has changed the minds of even those who had previously avoided the logical solution to the immigration problem — curtailing legal immigration. One such person, Linda Chavez, the influential conservative Hispanic think-tanker, argues that Hispanics' "real problem is that, whatever the degree of their economic success, only haltingly are Hispanic immigrants becoming part of the social, political, and cultural fabric of the U.S." Chavez concludes that "the irony is that both recent immigrants and America itself would have much to gain if fewer Latinos were admitted, allowing time for those here to learn English, improve their skills, and become Americanized."

After the previous great migration to the U.S. in the late 19th and early 20th century, the U.S. imposed an immigration lull that allowed the assimilation process to work for both society and immigrants. The evidence indicates that we need another lull to avoid becoming, as Theodore Roosevelt warned, "a tangle of squabbling nationalities" and continue to be, as founding father John Jay said, "a band of bretheren." 🏛️

Lance Izumi is a senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy. Comments on this column may be e-mailed to editor@statenet.com.

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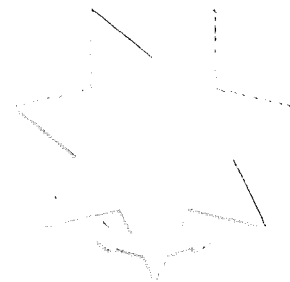
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